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ABSTRACT

The 12 articles in this bulletin were originally published in various issues of "Elementary English" volumes 47 and 48. The purpose of the bulletin is to provide a qualitative analysis of data in the various Educational Resources Information Centers (ERIC) that are related to research in oral language learning. (DB)

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Research Bases for Oral Language Instruction

A Research Bulletin
Prepared by a Committee
of the National Conference
on Research in English

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Preface

Ever since the editor of this research bulletin became involved with ***Reading for the Disadvantaged: Problems of Linguistically Different Learners*** (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1970), a book sponsored by the International Reading Association, he has been continuously indebted to many colleagues who share a high interest in the myriad implications of oral language development. Early in 1964, when the USOE first-grade studies were just getting off the ground, three of the project directors—John Manning, then at Fresno State College, Roy McCanne, then a staff member of the Colorado State Department of Education, and the writer—met together to pool resources and share common problems concerning linguistically different learners. Insights gained from these contacts and experience gained through the three projects involving Spanish-speaking pupil populations were invaluable preludes to the preparation of the IRA book.

As it became clear that much of the ineffective learning experiences being provided linguistically different populations stemmed from a lack of valid quality instruction in oral language, contacts made through meetings of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) led to a two-day meeting in May 1968 at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. A. Hood Roberts, director of the Center for Applied Linguistics, was largely responsible for making this meeting possible. Credit for identifying and clarifying eleven of the twelve issues discussed in this research monograph should go to the following participants of that meeting: Bruce Gaarder, Roger Clark, Walter Wolfram, Doris Gunderson, Alfred Hayes, A. Hood Roberts, Dorothy Pedtke, Roger Shuy, William Stewart, Adam Woyna, Altee Anderson, Sophie Aramburo, Frieda Denenmark, and Roy A. Kress.

Following the Washington meeting, Bernard O'Donnell of the National Council of Teachers of English and A. Hood Roberts joined forces with me to propose to the Executive Board of the National Conference on Research in English that NCRE authorize the preparation of a research bulletin focused on these issues. Support of the 1968-69 NCRE committee for producing the bulletin is acknowledged as follows: NCRE President Albert J. Harris, Walter T. Petty, William Eller, Helen Huus, Helen K. Smith, Delores Durkin, and Roy A. Kress.

As an editor, I have been delighted with those authors cooperating in the enterprise. I particularly appreciate the willingness and ability of John Bordie and Mark Seng, who replaced two of the original authors on short-term notice. The assistance of David P. Butts in defining and clarifying the twelfth issue in oral language acquisition—the interrelationships between content, teachers, and learners—is also acknowledged.

This is the tenth collection of articles to be planned by a committee of NCRE for original publication in one of the official journals of the National Council of Teachers of English. The continued cooperation of the NCTE Executive Committee and individual journal editors has made possible the wide dissemination of one aspect of the work of NCRE. For this publication Rodney Smith, editor of *Elementary English*, has provided consistent professional support and helpful advice. Likewise, so has Eugene C. Ross, director of publications for NCTE; to him goes a special citation for making possible the publication of this bulletin simultaneously with the May 1971 issue of *Elementary English*, which contained the remaining articles of the series.

Special words of appreciation are always due the ladies who always seem indispensable to almost any enterprise. Appreciation is freely given with absolutely no pressure from the Women's Liberation Movement, to my wife, Grace, keeper of the home front; and to Jeannie Darling and Reeda Lee Anderson, who have now survived the manuscript and editorial vagaries of two overlapping major publication productions.

Austin, Texas T.D.H.
April 1971

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Introduction

Subjecting theoretical models of oral language learning to adequate pragmatic testing and evaluation has occurred relatively recently and with limited effect. This fact has not, however, intimidated educational or linguistic protagonists of one theory or another from engaging in cheek-by-jowl combat on a verbal basis. The purpose of this oral language bulletin is to provide a qualitative analysis of the data in the various Educational Resources Information Centers (ERIC) pertaining to the issues identified so that continuing cheek-by-jowl activities have more bases in fact than in reflecting opinion or "in my own heart" feelings.[1] One phenomenon that stands out above all others as these research reviews are read is that adequate research data supporting or refuting one view or another are limited indeed.

The bewilderment and frustration encountered by WASP teachers undertaking language arts programs for linguistically different learners pinpoint the failure of teacher education programs to make adequate provisions to give teachers an understanding of: (1) the nature of language other than their own idiolect; (2) language acquisition; and (3) the development of realistic, positive attitudes toward differing dialects. Significant studies recently completed by Williams (1969, 1970, 1971) concerning teachers' attitudes about a child's being "disadvantaged" are particularly pertinent for suggesting changes in teacher education programs. The point that widespread confusion and ignorance exist on the part of teachers in dealing with linguistically different learners is reiterated over and over again by the authors of this bulletin. As Venezky points out in the last article of the series, major research and training efforts should be focused upon teachers to enable them to understand just what *is* natural language for any child and why learning a new dialect should not be confused with learning to read.

The interference phenomena of standard English learning are reviewed in the section by Saville. Wolfram's chapter further explores the various positions on how nonstandard dialects are viewed and what the nature of them is.

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[1] Many items in the twelve bibliographies in this book are identified by an ERIC Document Number (e.g., ED 025 761). Documents with ED numbers are abstracted in ***Research in Education***, a monthly USOE catalog of documents filed in ERIC. Most ERIC documents are available on microfiche or in paperback pamphlets from the ERIC Documents Reproduction Service, Leasco Information Products, Inc., 4827 Rigby Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. See ***Research in Education*** for price and order information.

Although the lack of validity and/or reliability in most currently existing oral language tests is underscored in Bordie's chapter on language tests for linguistically different learners, the misuse of standardized I.Q. and achievement tests has led one test specialist to describe I.Q. and grade-equivalency scores as "monstrosities" (Dyer, 1971). However, the beginning of a major breakthrough in oral language assessment has just been reported by Natalicio and Williams (1971).

The impact of peer language and the language of the home on linguistically different learners is well known. However, preservice and inservice teacher education programs have, for the most part, only recently concerned themselves with out-of-school environments. Some parental groups have become involved by their own demand, as in the case of New York City. Nevertheless, Harmer's review of the literature underlines the widespread inattention to the potentials of home involvement with school language programs.

Although educators have become more knowledgeable concerning the goals and methodological differences inherent in bilingual, bidialectal, FLES, and English as a second language programs, more rigorously designed experimentation is recommended explicitly or implicitly in the reviews of Bordie, Past and Gilson, Carter, Pearson, and Feigenbaum. Of particular importance is Seng's chapter which pursues the little explored issue of the extent to which language programs should address themselves to the development of cognitive skills.

As any educational innovator or experimenter has learned through experience, the teacher variable is probably the most difficult one to control. Language programs have started up with loud and beautiful fanfare, only to disappear very shortly after the initial program protagonists have moved on to other activities. The very tricky interactions between content and teachers in oral language acquisition are reviewed in the Butts chapter.

If this bulletin helps make quality oral language available to populations now largely failing and dropping out of school because of inappropriate instruction, it will have achieved its primary purpose.

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The Nature of Nonstandard Dialect Divergence*

Within the last decade, we have witnessed an expanding interest in the study of nonstandard dialects from a number of different vantage points. Various aspects of nonstandard dialects and their relation to standard dialects have now been investigated. With the increasing number of perspectives on a theme, it has become correspondingly more difficult to keep abreast of all the developments in the field. The various approaches to the problem may keep one rightly perplexed, for the conclusions drawn from similar data may differ dramatically. With the proliferation of papers on a general theme, it also has become increasingly difficult to select a subtopic from a larger area which may be of concern to the potential reader. Finally, the limited and delayed availability of papers through the normal channels of publication may keep one in a constant state of frustration. (Because of this problem, the reader should keep in mind that this description only includes ERIC documents which were processed prior to the fall of 1969.)

The development of ERIC has certainly helped alleviate the problem of limited and delayed availability, but the relevance of various papers to a specific issue and the relative merit of these papers is outside the scope of ERIC. Yet, it is apparent that such evaluative judgments might be of great service to the reader who has neither the time nor interest to survey the many divergent aspects of nonstandard dialects for himself.

The primary purpose of this paper is therefore evaluative. It is designed to investigate a specific issue in the area of nonstandard dialects and to evaluate ERIC documents dealing with this issue. Obviously, not all of the articles will be of equal relevance to the specific issue being investigated here. The relative importance will be implicit in the comments concerning each article. In addition, special notation will be made of crucial articles in the bibliography.

The issue reviewed here is the manner in which nonstandard dialects differ from standard English. In other words, possible answers are explored concerning the question of *how* nonstandard dialects differ from standard dialects.

Deficiency versus Difference

Although it may seem somewhat oversimplified, the current viewpoints on how nonstandard dialects differ from standard dialects can be subsumed under two theoretical positions: either nonstandard dialects are viewed as a *deficient* form of standard English or they are viewed as a *different* but equal language system. In a *deficit* model, speech differences are viewed and described with reference to

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a norm and deviation from that norm. The control group for describing deviation is middle-class speech behavior. From this perspective, nonconformity to the norm is seen as an indication of retarded language acquisition or under-developed language capacity. Nonstandard pronunciation and grammatical patterns are sometimes viewed as inaccurate and unworthy approximations of standard English. Nonstandard dialects are considered as "the pathology of non-organic speech deficiencies," and the patterns of these dialects are labeled with such terms as "misarticulations," "deviations," "replacements," "faulty pronunciations," and the like.

On the other hand, the *difference* model considers each language variety to be a self-contained system which is inherently neither superior nor deficient. Nonstandard dialects are systems in their own right, with their own pronunciation and grammatical rules. Although these rules may differ from standard English, they are no less consistent or logical than the rules of the socially prestigious dialect. That one language variety is associated with a socially subordinate group and, therefore, socially stigmatized has nothing to do with the actual linguistic capacity of the system. From this viewpoint, one must be very careful not to confuse the social connotations of a language system and its linguistic capacity as a communicative code.

Although the deficit perspective has enjoyed considerable popularity in a number of disciplines, it conflicts with some basic assumptions about the nature of language (Wolfram, 1969). In the first place, empirical evidence suggests that all languages are capable of conceptualization and expressing logical operations. It is therefore assumed that different surface forms for expression have nothing to do with the underlying logic of a sentence, since there is nothing inherent in a given language variety which will interfere with the development of conceptualization. This is not to say that differences between the handling of logical operations may never correlate with social class. However, social class categories cannot be explained by language differences alone, since all language varieties provide for the expression of syllogistic reasoning.

A second linguistic premise is that all languages and dialects are adequate as communicative systems. It has been established that language is a human phenomenon which characterizes every social group, and that all language systems are perfectly adequate for communication by the members of the social group. The social acceptability of a particular language or dialect, considered non-standard because of its association with a subordinate social group, is totally unrelated to its adequacy for communication. The question for the linguist is not the *what* but the *how* of communication.

Another linguistic premise relating to the adequacy of all language systems is that languages are systematic and ordered. Technically speaking, there is no such thing as a "primitive" language or dialect. All languages and dialects are highly developed and complex systems in their internal organization. Furthermore, affinities between the pronunciation and grammatical patterns of related dialects are consistent and regular, not haphazard and random.

Finally, language is learned in the context of the community. All linguistic evidence points to the conclusion that children have acquired a fairly complete language system by the age of five or six, with minor adjustments in language competence sometimes occurring until eight or nine. This system is acquired from contact with individuals in the immediate environment. Whether the source for this acquisition is parental, sibling, or peer group interaction is only incidental from a linguistic viewpoint. What is more important is the fact that the rate of language development is approximately parallel across cultures and sub-cultures. That is, lower-class children learn nonstandard dialects at approximately the same rate as middle-class children learn standard English.

Nonstandard Dialects as Deficient

Although the linguistic premises concerning the nature of language have been basic to the discipline of linguistics for decades now, when the speech patterns of the so-called disdavantaged became an area of high priority for educators in the early sixties, it was the *deficit* model which provided a framework for this discussion. On this basis, programs were devised to describe and change the speech patterns of these children. One of the earlier programs designed to deal with the speech of these children was the Institute for Developmental Studies, founded and directed by Martin Deutsch.

Deutsch and his staff (1964) describe a "language intervention" program, an attempt to intervene with the development of speech patterns at a preschool period in order to prepare and equip the child with the linguistic capacity for success in school. In other words, the program is set up to remedy the presumed deficits of these children before entering school. Three major premises are enumerated as the theoretical basis for this program: (1) the intellectual deficit caused by early cultural deprivation cannot be made up for by putting children in a middle-class school; they need more direct emphasis on cognition; (2) to overcome deficiencies, there must be a carefully planned match between specific deficits and remedial measures; and (3) to alleviate the language handicap of disadvantaged children, they must be motivated to learn a standard pattern.

The Deutsch model for intervention is based on the theory that environment plays a major role in the development of cognitive skills, and that language skills and cognitive skills go hand in hand. Because of a "noisy environment" and the inaccessibility of adults in the home, the language and cognitive skills of these children are deficient.

The theoretical basis of Deutsch's position suggests that behavioral characteristics different from middle-class norms are inherently lacking in culture. Such ethnocentric norms for comparison are, of course, at variance with basic understandings of the nature of culture. That ghetto culture is different is not disputed here, but a *de facto* interpretation that this difference is equivalent to deficiency is difficult to justify. When the implicit criteria for viewing differences as deficiencies are looked at closely, the main criterion which emerges is conformity to middle-class patterns, as if there were some inherent "correctness" in this way of doing things. Attributing speech deficiencies to the unavailability of adults for interaction, for example, takes into account only one model for language acquisition—parent-child interaction. Sibling or peer group interaction, which may be quite extensive at a relatively young age for ghetto children, is not considered.

Furthermore, the relationship of language development and cognitive development has often been misunderstood. That language is integral to the cognitive development of an individual is not at issue here, but empirical linguistic evidence demonstrates that all languages and dialects provide for syllogistic reasoning. Every bit of linguistic data points to the fact that any logical operation possible in a standard dialect is also possible in a nonstandard dialect. The linguistic expression of logical operations may be different from dialect to dialect, but the underlying logic is quite intact. For example, both standard English and nonstandard English provide for making "identity statements" such as *The box is blue*, but in the dialect spoken by many lower-class Negro children, this construction is *The box blue*. That the copula form *be* is not found in this instance has no effect on the ability to form an identity statement. Rather, this dialect, like languages such as Russian, Thai, and Hungarian, may not have any copula in certain types of constructions. This is not a matter of deficiency but a difference in linguistic expression.

In "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," (1963) Deutsch is somewhat more detailed in his discussion of the environmental and psychological factors which contribute to the presumed verbal deficiency. Factors such as the lack of toys and books, an unstable family life, and substandard housing may leave a child deficient in perceptual discrimination, attentional mechanisms, expectation of rewards, and the ability to use adults as sources of information. All of these tasks are skills required for learning in schools, at least those of the sixties. Due to the "nonverbal" slum home, the child may fail to acquire a language-concept system which fits the school's instructional patterns.

As we have suggested above, correlations between learning ability and the language of these children are misleading. What is considered to be a lack of syntactic organization and inadequate perceptual ability may emerge only because of the external norms of acquisition, the white middle-class behavior which serves as a measure of "normalcy." Dialect-fair and culture-fair measurements of perceptual ability and syntactic organization have only recently come under consideration. Furthermore, claims about the non-verbalness of slum homes are not based on formal research evidence. As mentioned above, the ghetto homes may well be the predominant source for verbal interaction in this cultural setting.

Cynthia Deutsch (1964) measured the auditory discrimination abilities of lower-class black children on the premise that "a particular minimum level of auditory discrimination skill is necessary for the acquisition of reading and general verbal skills." A basic assumption was that lower-class children are deficient in the development of auditory attentiveness and discrimination because of an excessively noisy, overcrowded environment.

The basis for measuring perception was the Wepman Auditory Discrimination Test, one of the standard tests for discrimination development. Several important limitations of the Wepman Test must be identified. In the first place, the Wepman Test is constructed without reference to legitimate dialect differences. Thus, the failure to discriminate between *wreath* and *reef* or *lave* and *lathe* by young black children is interpreted as indicative of underdeveloped auditory discrimination. Actually, such pairs are the result of a systematic pattern in which *th* in *wreath* and *f* in *reef* are both pronounced as *f* at the end of a word, and *th* in *lathe* and *v* in *lave* are both pronounced as *v* in the dialect spoken by many black children in the ghetto. This, however, is not the result of retarded speech development, but the result of a legitimate dialect difference which may be maintained by adults as well as children. In essence, this homophony (i.e., the pronunciation of two different words alike) is no different from that of the New England middle-class child who does not discriminate between *caught*, the past tense of *catch*, and *cot*, the object for resting, or *taught* the past tense of *teach*, and *torte*, the pastry. The learning of standard English measured by the Wepman Test is not differentiated from the language development of a different dialect. Without taking such dialect differences into account, one can only arrive at erroneous conclusions.

Even if a dialect-fair test indicated that some of these children did reveal developmental retardation, asserting that this might be attributed to the noisy home environment of the child seems to be a simplistic explanation. The social dynamics of the ghetto home, although much mentioned, are just beginning to be researched from an anthropologically valid perspective.

In "The Role of Social Class in Language Development and Cognition," Martin Deutsch (1966) attempts to identify background patterns at two developmental stages and relate them to specific cognitive and linguistic patterns. His conclusions are based on a four year "verbal survey" of 292 Negro and white children in the lower and middle socioeconomic groups. The data indicate that being lower-class and/or Negro contributes to lower language scores. On the basis of these data Deutsch suggests that there is a "cumulative language deficit." That is, language deficits become more marked as the child progresses through school, showing the increasing disparity between the school expectations and performance of these children with respect to the prescribed mold. The finding that the language deficits become more marked as the child progresses through school is significant; the assumptions and interpretations as to the cause of these differences, however, bear closer examination.

Labov and Robins (1969) for example, in their study of Harlem teenagers, have shown that there is a direct relation between peer group involvement and reading achievement. On this basis, it might more reasonably be suggested that as the child becomes older, the values of the peer group, in direct conflict with the school-imposed value system, are basically responsible for the increasing alienation of ghetto children in middle-class oriented classrooms.

John (1964) has set forth the early stages of language acquisition as they relate to social environment in "The Social Context of Language Acquistion." She suggests that a child, surrounded by a sea of words, selectively and sequentially acquires the names of objects and actions. The learning of new responses is facilitated by "the relative invariance of the environment where the social context of learning as well as the stability of the bond between word and referent is being acquired." Differences in the rate and breadth of acquisition can be influenced by the nature of verbal interaction with those caring for the child. Using the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test as a basis for measurement, it is found that three clusters of words are difficult for low-income children: words relating to rural living, words whose referents are rare in low-income homes, and action words, particularly those dealing with gerundives (e.g., *lying*, *running*). That these children have difficulty with the first two types is not surprising to John, because of sub-cultural differences; however, she suggests that the relatively little opportunity these children have to engage in active dialogue must be considered as a reasonable explanation for their difficulties with action words. The children did not have difficulty in experience with the referent, but had trouble fitting the label to the varying forms of the action.

The assumptions and methods of John follow those of Deutsch; therefore, the limitations ascribed earlier to Deutsch pertain also to John: (1) the assumptions concerning the social environment of these children are not research based; and (2) the investigators fail to recognize legitimate form differences between dialects in discussing linguistic capacity. Nowhere, for example, is the possibility explored that difficulties with standard English gerundives might be attributed to form differences in the linguistic structure of the dialects investigated.

In all fairness to John and other members of the Institute for Developmental Studies, we must mention that all the above articles were written before the issue of difference versus deficiency was clearly articulated. Characteristically, these articles did not even recognize the existence of the difference alternative. However, with the more recent explication of this issue current literature dealing with this topic must bear the full responsibility for considering and examining alternatives to the deficit view of language differences in the lower class child in its assumptions, interpretations, and applications.

A slightly different approach to the speech of the economically impoverished is offered in Osser's "The Syntactic Structures of 5-Year-Old Culturally Deprived Children" (1966). Osser has compared the syntactic structures of middle-class children and black ghetto children in an attempt to discover how much environmental stimulation is necessary for language development. Using the total number of sentences the children used in the experimental session, the total number of different syntactic structures, and the average "complexity score," a difference favoring the middle-class group is found. Osser also observes that the lower-class group does not show homogeneous speech behavior, a fact he interprets to support the position that environmental differences may not only account for large differences *between* divergent groups, but large differences *within* groups.

Although Osser is treated here along with other studies of nonstandard dialects from a deficit model, he shows considerably more respect for the legitimacy of nonstandard speech as a linguistic system than other approaches from this perspective. It is for this reason that he recognizes the concept of *functional equivalence* in syntactic structures. This refers to "the fact that sequences of words in one dialect may be something different in the other dialect, yet the two sequences are syntactically functionally equivalent, e.g., *his sister hat* in the nonstandard dialect is functionally equivalent to *his sister's hat* in the standard dialect."

Despite the caution found in Osser's conclusions, several exceptions to his interpretations must be taken. We have already seen the need to justify statements about the influence of verbal environment on speech by correlational studies, so we need not elaborate this criticism again. The conclusions about the syntax of these children must also be viewed suspiciously, as Osser himself has cautioned. The total number of sentences used in an experimental situation may not have any direct relationship to the communicative adequacy of speech in a natural speech situation. Furthermore, the number of sentences used is significantly intercorrelated with the diversity and complexity of structures. Is, for example, the absence of relatives among the lower-class children representative of the actual linguistic capacity or a function of the failure to elicit a sufficient speech sample? Unfortunately, the legitimacy of cultural differences affecting the experimental situation has not been recognized.

Nonstandard Dialects as Different

One of the first important attempts to

explicate the different approaches to the study of nonstandard speech was Cazden's "Subcultural Differences in Child Language: An Interdisciplinary Review" (1966). Although this article reflects the fact that it was written at the inception of much of the current research on nonstandard speech, it is still quite useful. Disciplines included in Cazden's review are linguistics, experimental psychology, anthropology, and sociology. Three main areas of inter-disciplinary convergence are reviewed: (1) nonstandard versus standard English; (2) stages in the developmental continuum; and (3) different modes of communication.

In her discussion of the relation of standard to nonstandard dialects, Cazden delimits several methods of describing differences, including frequency of errors, contrastive analysis, and transformational grammar. The first method, describing errors, is associated with the deficit view of language described above. Cazden is rightly skeptical of studies which assess the status of nonstandard dialects as a cognitive liability, although not as polemical as most linguists dealing with this issue might be. The other two methods, contrastive analysis and transformational grammar, assume a difference view of nonstandard languages. Cazden's distinction of contrastive analysis from transformational grammar, however, is nebulous. For one, these two approaches are not mutually exclusive. Contrastive analyses can, and often do, employ the methods of transformational analysis. Furthermore, transformational grammar is only one linguistic model which might be used in the description of a language or dialect. What is more important than the particular linguistic model is the general linguistic perspective which recognizes the structure of different languages and dialects as systems in their own right, with both similarities and differences to related varieties. With reference to the stages of the developmental continuum, Cazden summarizes work in this area by noting that children of upper socioeconomic status are generally evaluated as more advanced than those of lower socioeconomic status. But she correctly points out that studies are only valid if evaluated in terms of the norms of a child's own speech community. In this regard, she anticipates the significance of constructing dialect-fair tests.

The final area, the different modes of communication, reviews research on both the intra- and inter-individual aspects of communication. Essentially, this concerns the importance of what, to whom, how, and in what situation we are speaking. She concludes that we know very little about differences in language function.

As a review of the literature up to 1965 on the subcultural differences in the language of children, this can be recommended as a thorough reference. It is less evaluative than might be hoped for with respect to the crucial issue of difference versus deficit, but the period in which it was written may have called for a more cautionary evaluation.

The most explicit sources on the difference/deficit issue are several papers by Joan C. Baratz. In "A Bi-Dialectal Task for Determining Language Proficiency in Economically Disadvantaged Negro Children" (1968a), the major dispute about this issue in the literature is outlined, and experimental evidence for her own conclusion is offered.

Baratz suggests that there are three main viewpoints concerning the linguistic system of low-income Negro children. First is the view that such children are verbally destitute, not having yet developed a functionally adequate or structurally systematic language code. This viewpoint is rejected by Baratz because of the biased testing procedures, e.g., the use of middle-class testing situations such as the classroom.

The second viewpoint considers these children to have systematic but underdeveloped language behavior, their underdeveloped system leading to cognitive deficits. Again the viewpoint is considered invalid because of the use of middle-class oriented tasks and norms which serve as a standard of normalcy.

The third viewpoint is that these children have a fully developed but different system from standard English. In support of this viewpoint, Baratz has conducted a bidialectal test in which she assesses the proficiency of black ghetto children and middle-class white children in repeating standard English and nonstandard Negro English. The black children were significantly more proficient in repeating the nonstandard Negro dialect sentences than the white children, but when they repeated the standard English sentences there were predictable differences in their repetitions based on interference from the nonstandard dialect. When the same test was given to the white children, the standard English sentences were repeated quite adequately, but predictable differences in their repetitions of the nonstandard sentences, based on interference from the standard English system, were observed. The results of this study show that: (1) there are two dialects involved in the educational complex of black children; (2) neither white nor black children are bidialectal; and (3) there is interference from their dialect when black children attempt to use standard English. This type of evidence, Baratz points out, indicates the bias of testing which uses standard English as a yardstick of language development.

The conclusions that Baratz reaches on the basis of her study are important support for the viewpoint which maintains that we are dealing with different but equal systems. Furthermore, the concise discussion of the deficit/difference controversy makes this one of the most essential articles for anyone interested in the issue.

A slightly different emphasis on this issue is given in Baratz's article "Language and Cognitive Assessment of Negro Children: Assumptions and Research Needs" (1968b). In this article Baratz examines the speech of lower-class children in relation to cognitive ability. Several of the problems confronting a primarily psychological approach to the language assessment of black children are pointed out: (1) the assumption that language development is synonymous with the acquisition of standard English; (2) the tendency to equate cognition with rationality, i.e., the tacit acceptance of external norms resulting in the description of cognitive abilities of black children in terms of a developmental lag; and (3) the conclusion that some environments are inherently more adequate than others for stimulating general language and cognitive growth. The foregoing problems seem to have evolved from misconceptions of what language is and how it functions.

Like the previous article by Baratz (1968a), the explication of the different viewpoints in approaching the speech of low-income children makes this an invaluable contribution to the field. Without taking issue with the essential contribution of this article, it is necessary to point out one example in which the position of Engelmann and Bereiter is misrepresented.

One of the prime illustrations in her refutation of the Bereiter-Englemann position of language deficits is the treatment of the *if-then* construction; they claim that children are unable to handle this construction in deductive reasoning, e.g., *If this block is big, then the other is small.* Baratz understands this use of it to be the same as the "question" *if* in a sentence such as *He asked John if he could come.* Because black children may not use *if* in the second type of construction (*He asked John could he come* being appropriate in the dialect of these children), she assumes that Bereiter and Englemann have interpreted a legitimate dialect difference as a cognitive liability. But one cannot argue the case of *if-then* deductions on the basis of question *if* since the two uses of *if* have quite different syntactical functions. Although Baratz's general criticism of the reasoning of Bereiter and Englemann is quite defensible, the particular example chosen to refute their position is, in this case, unfortunate.

In "Grammatical Constructions in the Language of the Negro Preschool Child" (1968c), Baratz and Povich compare the language development of a group of Head Start children with the results obtained for middle-class preschoolers, using Lee's Developmental Sentence Type model (1966). This article chronologically preceded the papers discussed above, but probably has been pre-empted by them in terms of relevance to the deficiency/difference issue. It is, nevertheless, important because the analytical method used by Baratz and Povich is different from that described in the articles of Baratz which were discussed in the above paragraphs.

The majority of utterances by the lower-class children are on the kernel and transformational levels of Lee's developmental model, according to the investigators. Although the language of economically impoverished Negro children indicates that their language contains a number of structures which would be considered as "restricted forms" when they are compared with standard English, they conclude that these forms are not only acceptable in lower-class dialect, but also indicate a level of syntactic development where transformations are being used appropriately. Inasmuch as the lower-class Negro child is using the same forms as the lower-class Negro adult, Baratz and Povich conclude that he has adequately acquired the forms of his linguistic environment.

Although the vast majority of the controversy over the difference/deficit model in describing speech differences concerns the speech of ghetto Negro children, Vincent P. Skinner looks at the speech of low-income families in Appalachia from this perspective in "Mountaineers Aren't Really Illiterate" (1967). Because of the paucity of material on Appalachian speech, the article is mentioned here, despite the fact that it is lacking in detail. Skinner does, however, note that this dialect is a sophisticated language which is quite effective for the communicative purposes of the community. The dialect spoken by these mountaineers tends to preserve a more archaic form of English, due to the geographical and social isolation of this group from mainstream American culture. Unfortunately, this article is much too brief and sketchy to be useful as more than an illustration of the status of white nonstandard Appalachian speech as a different but equal system.

Summary

We have seen that there is considerable difference in how nonstandard dialects are viewed as represented in ERIC documents. It should be apparent that one's view of this divergence is crucial for our educational system. For one, the view of a child's dialect will have a direct bearing on teachers' attitudes toward the dialect with which the child comes to school. The attitudinal biases toward linguistically adequate but socially stigmatized language varieties is no doubt the biggest problem we face.

There are also practical reasons for understanding how nonstandard dialects differ from standard English. With respect to testing language proficiency, it means that we must strive to design dialect-fair measures of language proficiency. Only such tests can authentically indicate where a child is in terms of language development. Our viewpoint of nonstandard dialects is also crucial if we propose teaching standard English to nonstandard dialect speakers. A thorough understanding of the systematic and regular differences between standard and nonstandard English must serve as a basis for the most effective teaching of standard English in our schools.

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Interference Phenomena in Language Teaching: Their Nature, Extent, and Significance in the Acquisition of Standard English*

Fewer than half of the English speakers in the world learned English as a native language. Those who did somehow internalized its sound system and most of its grammatical structures before they came to school—without any help from specialized English teachers. Each year, however, thousands of students first encounter English as a foreign language when they enroll in school, even within the United States. Thousands more learn English as a native language in their preschool years but find it is a variety which is unacceptable to their teachers from the first grade on.

These are our linguistically different learners, often our disadvantaged. Because of an apparently high correlation between linguistic divergence from standard English and low achievement in our schools, considerable research on this population has been conducted by educators and linguists. The increasing implementation of bilingual programs has interested psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists as well with some resultant gains in our understanding of first- and second-language acquisition, cultural differences in styles of learning and motivation, and additional speculation about the relationship of thought and language.

It is time for those of us in education to carefully assess the questions and answers which the social sciences have directed to the problems of teaching English. This report will focus on the identification of interference phenomena: the factors in a student's personality or culture which may get in the way of his acquisition of standard English.

Linguistic Interference

A common manifestation of interference is the switching of linguistic codes. These codes have usually been thought of as distinct languages, but they may be variants of a single language, or dialects. Hymes (1967) maintains that no speaker is limited to a single linguistic code, and that all switch to a code appropriate for signaling social intimacy or distance. If such switching is to be understood, emphasis must be placed on the interaction of language and its social contexts. Gaarder comments on the significance of intralingual interference:

> The interference between two closely related dialects—such as a nonstandard dialect and standard English—is far greater than between two completely different languages, and the socially significant differences between the standard and nonstandard forms may be overshadowed by the similarities and fail to present a real challenge to the students. (1965, 20)

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The nature of the linguistic interference phenomena is provided by structural analyses of nonstandard Negro speech and standard English. These contrastive studies provide the same predictive and explanatory functions for areas of interference in monolingual English speakers as contrastive studies of two languages do for bilinguals.

Probably the most valuable resource for educational use is Labov's *The Study of Non-Standard English* (1970). He discusses the nature of the language and makes direct application of the description to the classroom teacher. His emphasis is on preparing teachers to recognize points of linguistic interference and to adapt methods and materials to the actual problems of students.

Labov and others (1968a) produced a more technical study of the structural differences between the nonstandard Negro English of the northern ghetto areas and standard English. They explain such interference phenomena as the following as differences in low-level rules which affect surface structure.

1. Simplification of consonant clusters, sometimes causing the deletion of the past *-ed* suffix (e.g., *walk* for *walked*).
2. The negative concord rule, distributing the underlying negative particles to a wide range of environments (e.g., *Don't say nothing,* for *Don't say anything*).
3. The absence of third person singular *-s* and the possessive suffix (e.g., *He go*, for *He goes*).

Many of the speakers they tested could understand both nonstandard and standard forms but produced only the nonstandard. For these native English speakers, interference between linguistic codes is occurring for the most part only at the productive level. While English-as-a-second-language techniques may be applicable to teaching standard English as a second dialect, this study shows us that the nature and scope of the students' interference is probably different enough to make standard ESL material inappropriate.

Labov and Cohen (1967) prepared still another contrastive analysis of phonology and grammar including verb tenses, noun forms, negatives, pronouns, embedded questions, and count and mass nouns. They describe important interference areas in terms of general rules which differentiate nonstandard and standard forms.

The only extensive analysis of southern Negro speech surveyed is Williamson's (1968) study of high school students in Memphis, Tennessee. She provides no suggestions for language teachers, but her listing of structures would be helpful in preparing instructional materials for students in the southeast. Southern Negro speech is also the primary source of data for Smith (1969) in his discussion of cross-code ambiguity as a form of grammatical interference. This is a plausible reason for the persistence of some nonstandard forms, and one which emphasizes the importance of teacher understanding of students' language.

Smith and Truby (1968) treat the interference of nonstandard English with the acquisition of reading skills, specifically the sound-symbol correspondence. They conclude that this interference can be minimized if the teacher either teaches this correspondence in terms of the students' dialect or teaches the standard dialect prior to reading.

Rystrom (1968) also explores the idea of the nonstandard Negro dialect as a source of interference in acquiring reading skills. He hypothesizes that Negro children could be taught to use specified elements of standard English in eight weeks, and that this would have a significant positive influence on their word reading score when the relationship between letters and sounds was controlled. Pre- and posttesting in two first grade classrooms cause these hypotheses to be rejected. The experiment is potentially interesting but needs to be replicated with a larger sample and with more attention given to teaching methods used. Since the first hypothesis is rejected (the children did not learn to use the elements of standard English), the rejection or affirmation of the influence of these elements on reading seems meaningless.

We can clearly see that contrastive analysis is still considered a useful tool in identifying and explaining points of linguistic interference. It is quite obviously not sufficient, however, to explain all of the performance errors made by speakers learning English as a second language or standard English as a second dialect. While the contrastive linguistic model may be improved by the application of current theoretical principles and techniques, there will be a continuing demand for sensitive teachers in each classroom. And valuable as it may be, the contrastive approach has seldom been applied to the construction of instructional material, nor would it be sufficient in determining content. As Rivers (1968) reminds us, areas of contrast are points where we must combat native language interference, but the contrasting element should be taught as it functions in the language system—not just at the point of contrast.

Psychological Interference

The psychologist's specialized definition of *interference* does not coincide exactly with the linguist's but is limited to phenomena in forgetting and inhibition when first-language habits modify the learning of a second.

Carroll (1968) reviews theories of psychological interference and reports many psychological factors which may get in the way of second-language acquisition and are, therefore, of central interest to the language teacher. Interference can occur at the cognitive level (in selection among possible responses), or at the psychomotor level (resulting in a "foreign accent"), or it may result from "unguided imitative behavior." Factors affecting degree of interference include aptitude and intelligence, motivation, age (young children are less subject to interference than older learners), and teaching methods and materials.

Ervin-Tripp (1968) provides another general discussion of the psychological factors in bilingualism. She discusses probable differences in language learning due to the age of the student and suggests looking at performance errors as a distinct type of interference which requires analysis of the learner's linguistic system as well as a contrastive analysis of the languages involved. Many of the factors which interfere with the linguistic performance of a speaker learning English as a second language are the same as those affecting a monolingual speaker of English (for example, fatigue, stress, sentence length, and grammatical complexity), but some are due to the more complex linguistic and sociolinguistic rules which the bilingual must learn to control. This suggestion is reinforced by Nemser (1969).

Diebold (1966) makes the distinction between "coordinate" and "compound" bilinguals and describes relevant research by Lambert and others. He uses this distinction in describing different types of relationships between word-pairs in the speaker's language systems and their referents. This model should show areas and degrees of semantic interference beyond those available through contrastive linguistic techniques.

Diebold also discusses the possibility that cognitive conflict may accompany semantic interference in bilinguals. This follows from the hypothesis that languages differ from each other in their selection of critical semantic features and in their lexical groupings, or categorization. The nature of this conflict has been explored in discussions of the "Whorfian hypothesis" but its extent and significance to language teaching have received little objective attention. One controlled study is Sisson's (1968) use of the Stroop Word Test in a bilingual context to measure degrees of interference.

Niyekawa (1968) applies more extensive tests to the influence which the first language has on perception, thinking, and second language learning. Interference phenomena in translation to the second language are partially accountable in terms of the cognitive framework related to the first language. The cognitive framework associated with a particular language and culture

> . . . has adjustment and survival value in that it enables us to economize our effort in perceiving only relevant material and organizing this material in a culturally meaningful way. (1968, 4)

This also suggests an interference factor for students learning a second language which may be impervious to any of our teaching techniques.

Cognitive factors are also explored by Spolsky (1968), who restates some questions regarding the possible differences in conceptualization in speakers of different languages and the possible effects of bilingualism on language development. While tentative in his conclusions, he suggests a possible loss in linguistic ability when two languages are learned. One type of interference which may operate in second language learning (according to the "balance theory") is that only a certain amount of language learning ability may be available to any one individual. If this is divided between two languages, then each will be weaker.

The discussion of the "coordinate-compound" distinction is renewed by Macnamara (1967) as it relates to the language learning contexts. Interference may be taught to students by parents or teachers, although effective teaching eliminates as much of it as possible. One way interference can be minimized is to keep the language of instruction predictable—once started in a language, continue to follow the rules of that language.

The interference potential from negative attitudes and motivation has been widely recognized. Cowan (1968) reports that Japanese students who have high integrative motivation (who tend to be somewhat "Americanized") learn English better. Low integrative motivation interferes with language learning. Taylor and others (1969) support the hypothesis that the ability to pronounce a second language is related to "empathetic capacity" or sensitivity to interpersonal cues. Others to stress the importance of attitude and motivation include Gardner (1968) and Zintz (1969).

Dugas (1967) reviews some of the findings reported above and states the implications these have for language teaching. Because integrative motivation lessens interference, for instance, the teacher should look for elements in the English-speaking community with which the students might want to relate and make positive references to bilingual speakers.

Interference phenomena in language learning have been of considerable interest to psychologists in recent years, and reports of their findings are available in such sources as the *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*. Considering its relevance to instructional materials and methodology, it seems unfortunate that so little in this area is readily available to educators in a less technical form.

Cultural Interference

Language is essentially a social phenomenon, learned in a social context, and used to communicate with others in a society. Some social factors also interfere with language learning or, at least, inhibit the use of standard English. Labov and Cohen (1967) define the conflict between dialects of English as

> . . . the problems that follow from the different uses of language and attitudes toward language that are characteristic of these two forms of English.

They may prove to be even more important to the acquisition of standard English in some contexts than linguistic interference factors discussed above.

Diebold (1966) lists as potential interference phenomena the language loyalty sentiments of the speaker, the acculturation pressures being applied, the dominant or more prestigious status of English, socioeconomic conditions, and the ambivalent sentiment in the United States toward bilingualism. Christian (1965) accuses the Anglos of a lack of respect for human values and lists this and their impatience with different cultures as causes of interference and Anglo unpopularity. Zintz (1969) stresses the importance of teachers perceiving differences in values and custom as well as in the languages of their students. He includes examples from Mexican American, Navajo, Alaskan Indian, and Zuni cultures and a useful bibliography of minority group studies.

Ervin-Tripp (1968) lists possible areas of interference as beliefs about the appropriateness or ease of becoming bilingual and feelings of social identity. She reports Labov's observation that working class boys in New York may have trouble learning the speech features of their women teachers because of this last factor.

Bilingual students may not speak English acceptable for classroom use because they contact only the bilingual community and have no model or social support for standard English. The type of linguistic interference manifested in switching between linguistic codes may be normal language usage in the community, with the switching itself carrying social meaning. This phenomenon is convincingly documented by Lance (1969).

If a speaker has mastered the appropriate code-switching rules, the interference phenomena deterring the use of standard English are not so much linguistic (the use of native-language forms in place of English) as social (identity with the bilingual rather than monolingual community). If the choice of codes includes standard English for use when that is appropriate (as in school), the term *interference* may no longer accurately describe code-switching.

Labov and others (1968b) deal with the functional differences of nonstandard Negro English and standard forms. They describe the relationship of school performance and reading to the vernacular culture, overt attitudes toward language, and other social factors. They find the cultural conflict between the value systems of the two groups a greater contributor to reading failure than the structural conflict between the linguistic systems. It is also noteworthy that Labov finds much greater verbal capacities in ghetto children than do other studies.

Dugas (1967) argues that language functions need to be taken into account in preparing teaching material, but his suggestions may be called into question using the same criteria. Dugas claims language material should be on a more informal level to permit social mobility. This will be true if the purpose of language instruction is complete acculturation to a monolingual society; but, if the student lives in a bilingual community, he needs the more formal English of teachers and books. He may not need or want to use the style of English appropriate only with family or friends (Troike, 1971).

Many have recognized the importance of collecting and disseminating more information about social factors affecting language learning, and some specific procedures have been suggested. Rudnyckyj (1967) suggests a model for comparing "cultures in contact" similar to a linguistic model for contrastive analysis. He identifies the interference from conflicting cultural patterns as "cultural accents."

The conference report on *Styles of Learning Among American Indians* (1969) provides a basic resource for teachers of culturally diverse students, although presenting many more questions than answers. It points out how little we know about different learning styles and conflicting value systems and social structures. The primary value of this document to educators may be in pointing out that there *are* such basic differences which are potential points of interference in learning. The recommendations for background studies, related research projects, direct studies and research, and pilot projects should also provide an outline for research with other ethnic minorities.

Unfortunately, reports of research following these guidelines are either past due or not yet readily accessible through such channels as ERIC.

Educational Interference

There are several factors in schools themselves which get in the way of students learning English. Where these exist, they include unsuitable instructional material, bad teaching methods, educational segregation of minority groups, and negative attitudes on the part of school personnel.

Some of these negative attitudes toward linguistically and culturally diverse students are also recorded in ERIC documents:

> . . . that sardonic chicano sense of humor . . .
> . . . the touchy pride of the chicano . . .
> . . . the chicano herd instinct . . .

We find an educator rejecting the students' native language:

> If (the student) elects to speak English in a school where the majority use Spanish, it takes a strength of will few possess.
>
> Under normal circumstances the bilingual teacher or coach who speaks Spanish to the student and encourages the student to speak Spanish in return is likely doing the student a disfavor since it does nothing to promote his linguistic ability and can easily confuse him in his attitudes.

Professors, too, sometimes make value judgements on students' language:

> He speaks Spanish with his playmates. But it is an impoverished Spanish, a language which has been culturally "beheaded" by its forced separation from its own literary heritage.
>
> The fact that the pupil's home language is a colloquial Spanish may be only one additional handicap, no more important than other cultural handicaps.

Gaarder (1965) states that the greatest barrier to the Mexican-American child's success in school is that those schools want him to grow up as another Anglo.

> This he cannot do except by denying himself and his family and his forbears, a form of masochism which no society should demand of its children. (1965, 20)

The extent of such interference phenomena cannot be determined by a survey of the literature, but partial remedies are available. In a collection of reports, Gaarder (1965) and Lado (1965) make concrete suggestions about how such educational interference may be overcome.

1. Do not legislate against using the

native language; this builds hostility toward English.

2. Establish bilingual programs, in which English is taught as a second language.
3. Understand dialect variations in English and the students' language, including their functions in society.
4. Teach dialect switching, not replacement of "incorrect" with "correct."

The understanding of dialects is also important in the development of instructional material. Gumperz (1967) points out the hazards of relying solely on contrastive analyses of standard languages spoken by "ideal speakers living in a homogeneous community" (Chomsky, 1965, 51). Material prepared in English or the first language of the student needs to take into account the regional and social dialect which he speaks—or still another "foreign language" is added to his linguistic milieu, often without being recognized as such by educators.

Heffernan-Cabrera (1969) provides an easy to understand review of traditional ESL methodology, suggests scope and sequence for content at varied levels of instruction, and includes a checklist for the evaluation of texts.

Reading methodology and materials for speakers of nonstandard English are presented by Baratz and Shuy (1969). Materials are prepared so that sounds and words associated with written symbols will correspond with sounds and words in the students' speech. They recommend using only forms the students use and hear.

Labov and Cohen (1967) also provide teaching suggestions for speakers of nonstandard Negro English. They stress keeping in mind the systematic distinction made in each dialect, rather than the actual sounds themselves. Trying to correct each "mistake" rather than deal with systematic differences is ineffective and will frustrate students. It should be remembered that this analysis and the teaching suggestions are directed to the urban northeast. The reported merger of *pin* and *pen*, for instance, cannot be treated as a nonstandard feature in parts of Texas, where the vowels are not distinguished in standard speech.

Of all areas of possible interference surveyed, ERIC is most helpful in providing extensive bibliographies of instructional material for teaching English as a second language at every age level. More information is needed on teaching standard English as a second dialect, but this need has obviously been recognized and is being met through these channels by Labov, Shuy, and other highly competent sociolinguists.

No static body of information on interference phenomena would suffice in this time of rapid change in linguistic theory, new emphasis on cultural factors in education, experimental teaching models, and ambivalent feelings toward diversity in classrooms. The ERIC document reproduction service now offers the fastest and most complete single resource on these varied factors. The very bulk of currently available material, however, makes the idea of more preselection and evaluation of documents by experts in the fields attractive to busy educators. It may soon be essential if efficiency and effectiveness are to be maintained.

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When Should Instruction in a Second Language or Dialect Begin?*

The optimum starting time for foreign or second language instruction has been a subject of considerable discussion for many years. Periodically, articles (1, 5, 10, 27, 28) appear under this title or with considerable segments of their text under this heading and report the nature of the author's observations and experiences. Reports are issued which describe experiments in curriculum planning for foreign language in the elementary school (FLES). Other reports describe the beneficial effect of FLES instruction on such diverse aspects of knowledge as science, citizenship education, and arithmetic (22) and explore the intellectual and attitudinal changes (5, 12, 31) in the individual attributable to early foreign language (FL) instruction (32).

Throughout, the assumptions are that the optimum age to start FL instruction is in childhood, from six years of age or before until puberty; that FL learning is somehow more perfectly and more naturally acquired during this age period; and that the adult, although capable of learning a FL, must do so at the expense of more effort than the child for equal results. Should the adult learner manage to master the FL by hard effort, he would still indicate his late-in-life acquisition of language by imperfect or foreign pronunciation.

Yet many of these statements and assumptions are entirely unsupported by hard evidence which would either prove or disprove the validity of one or the other conjecture. Judged by scientific standards of reproducibility and reference, most published reports are inadequate so far as numbers of individuals studied, reasonable plans of investigation, adequate length of time for observation, identification of characteristics and traits, and so forth. In fact, the number of studies concerned with such topics is extraordinarily low.

Thirty topic titles from ERIC were examined exhaustively for the years 1966 through 1970. These topics titles (see accompanying table) covered the range of attributes usually associated with FL or second dialect learning. Approximately twenty-four hundred titles were examined in abstract.[1] From this number, ninety-five were scanned and forty-four were examined in detail. Of the original total, only 1.9 percent were found to be relevant. An earlier study (4), for the period 1960-1965, found only sixteen items out of fifty thousand listed under language learning in the *Psychological Abstracts*. The *Annual Review of Psychology* for 1966 reviewed the period 1958-1966 and found only 328 refer-

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[1] Approximate because of topic cross-listing; one article may have been listed under several topic headings.

Topic Titles from ERIC, 1966-1970

Topic	*1966-67*	*1968*	*1969*	*1970*	*Total*
Age Differences	2	14	22	8	46
Bilingual Headings: Bilingual Education, Bilingual Schools, Bilingual Students, Bilingualism	1	48	106	90	245
Child Language	x	x	21	38	59
FLES	1	20	15	22	58
FLES Programs	x	22	13	7	42
Interference	x	3	12	10	25
Language Ability	1	11	11	11	34
Language Development	9	42	64	66	181
Language Enrichment	1	13	2	2	18
Language Fluency	1	13	3	1	18
Language Instruction	35	279	242	338	894
Language Learning	x	18	23	14	55
Language Proficiency	x	13	14	3	30
Language Skills	7	21	25	22	75
Multilingualism	x	3	7	1	11
Nonstandard Dialect	x	11	20	18	49
Retention	4	22	13	16	55
Second Language Learning	x	107	102	106	315
Social Dialects	x	9	16	16	41
TENL	x	10	21	33	64
Time Factors Learning	2	26	9	8	45
Verbal Development	2	6	10	10	28
Verbal Learning	4	13	11	12	40
	70	724	782	852	2,428

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x not listed separately

ences. The investigators at that time commented (11), "In view of the volume of learning research, the lack of studies of second language acquisition is shocking." This author must agree. There is no more important subject in today's schools which has less attention paid to it than foreign or second language or dialect learning.

The total number of studies appears large but is quite small in proportion to subject importance and, what may be more to the point, most are reports of the unverifiable observations of individuals in the classroom. Controlled experiments are few and far between. With slight exceptions, most authors assume that their individual observations are completely valid and their deductions generalizable to all situations on the basis of the scantiest of evidence. Many of these authors assume that the learning of a foreign or a second language follows the same pattern as the learning of a first language or dialect, that the stages of acquisition are the same for both first and second language, and that the techniques and methods of acquisition are applicable to all situations. Further, it is generally assumed that the child has an innate superiority in foreign language learning to that possessed by the adult: a special competence that disappears with age and is lost to the adult learner.

There are several theories of language learning which have been used to explain the apparent ease with which the child masters a second language. Of these, two of the more attractive are *imprinting* (19) and *neuro-muscular plasticity* (25, 26).[2]

Imprinting is a process similar to the physical analogue of photography. The child is exposed to language as film is exposed to light and, on development, is found to have acquired the ability to speak as the film is found to have acquired a visual image. As with film, the theory goes, so with children, for old film cannot produce an image nor can the older individual deprived of language in early life learn to speak. Imprinting has been demonstrated in many animals. A duckling immediately on hatching will attach itself to the first large moving object it encounters and will act toward that object as though it were its mother. The same imprinting occurs with chicks and with other young fowl. However, imprinting appears to be specific to the fowls for there is little evidence of such a process in the other animals.

Neuro-muscular plasticity (particularly of the brain) implies the general malleability of the individual rather much in the same fashion that wax may be molded while warm but becomes firm and immobile, retaining its impressed shape, when cold. In this sense, the child is felt to be more pliable than the older adult. The theory relies on several observable facts of development. One of the more commonly cited is the series of observations based on brain studies and the associated research on aphasia. In such studies, it was noted that the brain-injured individual commonly suffered from aphasia as a result of the injury; age is apparently not a factor in such cases for the severity of aphasia in similar injuries is approximately the same for the young and the old. However, recovery is more rapid and more complete for the child than for the older person, with the turning point for speed and completeness of recovery being the age period ten to fourteen (18). Coupled with such observations are the well-known facts that recovery from such mishaps as a broken bone or a wound is more rapid for the younger person. Such research and observations are cited in conjunction with the observable development of the child, who must crawl before he can walk and who must babble before he can talk.

It is also known that there are developmental changes in the chemical makeup of the body. From such observations, it has been argued that as the percentage makeup of such chemical compounds in the body varies with age so, too, will associated abilities derived from the presence or absence of such compounds. Hence, if we could sample the chemical makeup of the human body and contrast it with the chemical makeup of the average normal population, we might be able to state whether an individual was above or below the norm in development. As an incidental benefit, we would be able to properly place the individual in a school program and could then prepare materials specifically suited to his needs. This is an enticing idea. What could be more attractive than to step into a laboratory and emerge with a prescription for an academic curriculum (17)? However, though many people believe that eating fish for its phosphorus-based compounds is good for the brain, which has a higher percentage of phosphorus-based compounds than any other part of the body, there is only limited support for this view (3, 15). Since the compounds which are associated with language ability develop over time and reach the adult plateau at age ten, at which they remain for the greater part of the individual's lifetime (through age sixty), one must infer that language learning ability becomes greater as age progresses to age ten.

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[2] A third which is sometimes presented is the language specificity of the human species: the child is innately predisposed to language and achieves humanness through it.

It is open to serious question whether information derived from the investigation of the rates of recovery from accidental damage to the brain is related to the ability to acquire a second language, for in the former case we are concerned with the regaining of a facility once possessed but now lost, while in the latter case we are concerned with the acquisition of a new facility. It is questionable whether acquisition of a second language is at all similar in its procedures to the acquisition of the first language. Additionally, we must also question whether all languages are acquired in the same way. Further, we must consider the implications of a theory which suggests it is easier to master a subject skill when the faculties of the individual are incomplete than when the faculties are complete.

There are apparently two assumptions which are in operation here: (1) that language skills are simple things to acquire within a specific amount of time for the younger learner; and (2) that the adult is incapable of mastering these skills at some later stage in life. Both are seriously open to question.

If we assume that proficiency in language is a simple thing, we overlook the obvious, i.e., language training in one's native languages tends to continue throughout one's life and academic career. Indeed, the time spent on native language learning is extensive and continues from first grade through college. Most colleges provide freshman English courses which are designed to remedy student deficiencies (this after twelve years of language study and use in the grades) and continue this instruction in the native language at least through the sophomore year. This evidence alone indicates that language learning is not a simple short-term process. To believe that young children can learn languages easily and without effort is to overlook the experience of teaching anything at the primary stages. "Even such relatively simple skills as the elements of reading or the handling of numbers have proved to be more complex than was first thought . . . and it would be most surprising if foreign languages were to present fewer problems than the teaching of particular skills in the mother tongue." (29:107)

It is also misleading to expect the child to perform more adequately in language learning than does the adult. "There is no direct evidence that the child has a special language learning competency absent in the adult." (2:334)

> How long is it before we can say that a child has mastered his native language? We do not know with any precision. . . . Even if the speed of acquisition was known, on what grounds would one be justified in describing it as "astonishing"? Is it so astonishing if one is convinced that for five or more years the child is working very hard and for long hours on mastering language? (14:117)

In many cases, there is evidence which indicates that both child and adult are equally proficient when it is a matter of second language acquisition.

In a study of the ability of young American children and American adults to identify and reproduce the pharyngeal fricatives of Arabic, there was no evidence that children are better than adults at this particular task (34). To a certain extent, where cognitive awareness was an aid, the adults were very slightly more proficient than the younger child. In another study of Spanish-speaking children who had been speaking English in the United States for up to eight years after their arrival from Cuba, it was noted that no child had achieved native pronunciation even though he arrived in the United States prior to the age of five and had resided here for eight years (2:

341). The assumption of native proficiency in language acquired by children after short exposure is apparently misleading. It was observed, however, that there is *positive correlation* between length of contact with the second language and the degree of pronunciation control, with *long term residents tending to be more proficient than short term residents*, regardless of age. It may be that the child appears to be superior to the adult since he tends to learn and use his language in context, while the adult tends to learn his language in a non-context situation within the classroom with little relevance to the actual place of ultimate use.

When one considers the experience derived from intensive language programs established solely for adult language instruction, some rather striking results are noted. Most adults manage to perform quite well in a second language after a short period of study. The Peace Corps normally sends its members overseas after 350 to 400 hours of language instruction with the expectation they will function adequately in the performance of their assignments. The men at the Foreign Service Institute and the Defense Language Institutes seldom receive as many as 2000 hours of language training, even for the most difficult of the languages taught, where maximum proficiency in oral and written ability is required. When one contrasts adult and child performances (keeping in mind, however, motivational and learning condition differences), it appears that an adult is far more capable a language learner than is a child. One researcher states:

> [I]n terms of amount learned, the adult is five times as efficient as the child. . . . Adult language incapacity is probably due more to the adverse circumstances of most second language learning rather than to the later loss of an innate faculty. (7:2)

"Children, in short, do not learn language with miraculous ease." (28:15)

From this evidence one must conclude that where language learning is the only item under consideration, there is no optimum age for language study and second language acquisition. Language learning is possible with equal ease/difficulty whether the student is young and in the first grade or old and thinking of retiring. This ability to acquire a second language is maintained throughout childhood, youth, and middle age given comparable conditions for learning and study. "Among adults of age 20-60, age has very little to do with success in learning a language. . . ." (6:14) In old age some changes are observable, for, although the ability to remember is the same in youth and old age, memory is not so much a function of age as it is of degree of learning. The old person takes longer to learn a set amount of material than does his middle-aged or youthful counterpart (21).

This conclusion would seem to contradict the mass of experiential evidence with regard to language learning, and suggestions that other factors beside those solely attributable to language fluency are being evaluated. When the literature on the subject is examined, it becomes apparent that most writers are equating degree of socialization with language skill, usually on the basis of pronunciation alone. There is evidence that pronunciation alone, of all the skills associated with language use, is age related. "Pronunciation is the only part of language learning that is chiefly imitative." (23:2-4) "There is solid basis for the belief that young children can acquire good pronunciation more rapidly and easily than adults under normal conditions." (6:13)

When language learning is examined from the point of view that pronunciation is the most significant factor for the evaluation of language proficiency, then many of the difficulties with regard to the optimum age for the introduction of a second language disappear. The only solution is to begin the language learning process as early as possible. The Modern Language Association sponsored a conference in 1953 which was concerned with foreign languages in the elementary school. With participants such as Frances Ilg and Werner Leopold, the conferees indicated their belief that "Birth is the ideal starting time for second language learning." (23:2-4) Only by starting at such an early age would proper performance in pronunciation be accomplished.

We may wonder at the reason for such heavy emphasis on pronunciation. There is little reason to believe, and ample evidence to disprove, the holding that pronunciation is in any way an indication of special language competence. Much research has shown that perfect communication is possible without perfect pronunciation. The redundancies implicit in language are such that mispronunciation is one of the least handicaps to communication.

During early 1971, national television presented the heads of states of Egypt, Iran, South Vietnam, West Germany, Mexico, and Chile making statements in English and responding to news interviewers. Not one of these individuals failed to communicate adequately despite obvious imperfections in English pronunciation. This draws us to the conclusion that pronunciation, *per se*, is unimportant unless, in fact, a particular variety of pronunciation is held to be the only appropriate standard. In such instances of social pressure, we must make our judgments not so much on the basis of learning theory as we must on a social or cultural basis (30). In any society which values *pronunciation* as the distinguishing mark of language capability, the optimal age for the acquisition of this capability is as soon as possible in life, for social evaluation begins in the crib.

Is it possible to teach a second or a foreign language as early as that? Clearly the answer depends on parental proficiencies and is beyond the scope of our capabilities to provide at this time. But we can provide language instruction from the earliest school years. Many countries in Asia, which require a particular language as a common means of communication for their population, begin second language instruction in the first or second year of primary school (28:11-28). No difficulties are experienced by the students in adjusting to the second language at that time.

> Satisfactory results are reached prior to literacy, simultaneously with it, and following it. . . . Oral command of the language may precede reading and writing of the first language, although reading and writing of the second language should be delayed until reading and writing in the first language is established. . . . Initially, reading and writing should be presented in one language alone and that language to be the most expedient." (28:15)

Bilingual instruction has been found acceptable in New York City in kindergarten (13) and with prekindergarten Head Start schools (9). These programs have reported excellent results with no negative effects observed in the children's use of language (16). Additionally, it has been shown that the language differences are not important barriers to communication and cognitive development for preschool children (24) and that bilingualism does not impair verbal performance (27).

Perhaps the most significant aspect of sound language learning is not that it must start early in life but rather that the contact with language must be continuous over a period of years. "The time spent in foreign language study is more crucial than the age at which instruction is begun." (33:84) This allows the student to finish what he has started and, with sufficient time available, allows for the proper continuity for foreign language in the school curriculum. Successful foreign language learning must become part of the total educational process (8) rather than an afterthought or occasional nicety to be indulged when the school district has spare federal funds.

> One of the most cogent arguments for starting a language in the early stages of the primary school is that practice can be planned over a period of years (28:15).

For various reasons, new program innovations seem to be easier to introduce in the early school years. There are fewer problems about previous curricular offerings and the proper placement of the student. This alone may justify an early start.

Summary

Research, though seriously lacking in many respects regarding the acquisition of a second language, does provide some answers to the question of the optimum point or grade level for beginning second language instruction. There are three possible answers which require situational clarification before they can be applied:

(1) If communication in the second language is all that is required, such instruction may be postponed to the time of need or the period immediately preceding that time, regardless of the age of the student. There is no discernible difference between the child and the adult in language learning skills. In fact, the adult tends to be more efficient than the child in such a learning situation.

(2) If pronunciation skill is of considerable social importance, as is usually the case, then language study must begin as early as possible. Preferably, such study should begin in the kindergarten or nursery school stage.

(3) If school expediency is of considerable significance due to the unavailability of teachers, funds, or similar reason, the actual grade of language introduction is of less importance than the establishment of a continuous sequence of offerings which will provide the requisite amount of exposure time (at least thirty minutes daily) for the appropriate period needed to achieve the desired proficiency. This period is usually held to be four to six years of academic exposure for such goals as social communication, job-associated competencies, and the like.

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Listening and Response Theory: Implications for Linguistically Different Learners*

At least once in a semester the teacher or supervisor of a group of non-English speakers wistfully considers the case of the little missionary girl in a far country. Nearly everyone has heard of this little girl carried off to a distant place where her only playmates spoke another language. Within six months the little girl not only spoke the language but interpreted for mother at the market and for father in his preaching. Undoubtedly adored by the neighbors, she charmed the rulers of the province, fell in love with a leading citizen, and later brought peace between nations because of her linguistic ability and understanding.

Linguists and pseudo-linguists ponder such stories—which are legion—and try to make useful hypotheses to apply to second-language teaching generally. Actually, if we were to describe all the ways the resulting theories have been applied and misapplied, we could write several volumes. The truth is that there are numerous children of both sexes and many nationalities and levels of intelligence with experiences similar to that of American missionary children. This interchange and development of multilingual children is constantly recorded in Europe, Africa, and border areas in America. The complexity of the languages concerned is not a factor with a five year old child.

The "missionary-child" philosophy is frequently seen in our school systems. It is sometimes thought that to drop a child into a given language system will, after a period of adjustment, result in the child's learning that language. We have sorted children into "A" groups and "B" groups, slow groups and fast groups, and so forth, in an effort to abet the process. Usually the teacher is left thinking there is less to the missionary-child theory than meets the eye—and the supervisor is left with a large group of lagging children.

Intermediate and advanced-level schools also try the theory, putting the teenagers with their peers and hoping that they will absorb English. Upward-Bound students in the El Paso area are nearly all deficient in English even after ten to twelve years of work in classrooms where the only language has been English. "Educational immigrants" from every country and speaking every tongue are entering our universities with English abilities from zero to native-speaker level.

There are a number of questions that require rather immediate answers, hopefully based on valid research data. Are structured programs or informal oral-language activities more desirable when learners bring to the learning environment inadequate listening-speaking vocabularies and immature and/or nonstandard sentence structures? Is listening alone enough to overcome language deficiencies? How pertinent

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to school demands are the experiences or backgrounds linguistically different learners bring to school? Are learning experiences in school adequate for learners with nonstandard language unless structured oral language drill is provided: initially, and/or subsequently?

The principal difficulty with what is available in print in this entire area is that there is practically none of what we might call hard data. Many theories are offered and assertions made, but there is no factual material to support them. What is the ideal age for a person to begin second language study? What is the ideal class size for the ESL group? Under what conditions and to whom does the bilingual child use each of his languages? What is the relation, in the Southwest, between the number of Spanish surnames and the number of Spanish-speakers? How long must the average ESL course be to achieve mastery, and how do we measure mastery? These are all reasonable questions, and perhaps we all have ideas as to how they should be answered—but where is the factual proof of the answer to any one of them?

Obviously this is the kind of evidence we need before we can really begin coming to grips with our problems—how can one solve a problem without knowing what it is?—and it is only now beginning to be formulated. To date, the literature can offer us very little but opinions. Enlightened opinions, to be sure, but opinions still.

The technique of submerging a child into the school system is frequently subscribed to by supervisors, advocated by principals, and hesitatingly entered into by teachers. Some results are more than satisfactory and some are disastrous. Literature on teaching English as a second language (ESL) is available but many officials are ignorant of it, others avoid it, and it is still new enough so that educators are widely suspicious. However, the regional Educational Research Information Centers (ERIC) are a prime source of information. This paper contains basic information from those centers pertinent to the questions raised in the preceding paragraph.

The key to language learning could be listening and repetition. The Spanish-speaking conquerers of the Philippines assumed for decades that the conquered people were not capable of speaking Spanish, and in fact they were never included in conversations. During the subsequent revolution Spanish officials were amazed to know the natives had been understanding and reporting their conversation for years.

Some of those urging the listening-repetition technique have come from among the missionaries. One of the respected scholars of our day is Eugene Nida, Secretary for Translations of the American Bible Society. His *Learning a Foreign Language* (1957) is readable and profitable for both the layman and the linguist. Nida advocates and catalogues listening techniques when learning a foreign language.

Chapter Three of *Learning a Foreign Language* is entitled "Learning by Listening" and is in turn divided into two parts: (1) Passive Listening and (2) Selective Listening. While listening selectively, the individual is instructed to listen for intonation, systematic similar sounds in minimal pairs, and then words, phrases, and grammatical forms. Nida (1957, 36) says selective listening will tend to make "ruts in our brains." This is a statement similar to those made by pattern drill advocates in other publications. The chapter closes with the suggestion that the learner listen to himself (by tape recorder).

Selective listening is entirely different from the passive mental attitude displayed by some students when they are in a "forced feeding" situation. The instructor takes a part in the education of his language student and shows him when to listen and what to listen for in conversation or pattern. The instructor also gives the adult student an understanding of and sympathy with the approach being used. Systematic drill serves to establish listening and reproduction skills as habit. The student can be trained to listen for certain patterns by instruction intermingled with practice. Lado's (1964) use of the term *overlearning* describes the theoretical basis for such systematic drills.

Nida (1957) indicates that the "submersion technique" is actually a listening process. Generations of successful language learners have undoubtedly used many of the techniques described by Nida.

Asher (1966) describes a process which involves the student more fully than the selective listening just described. As the name suggests, more than the ear is occupied. The theory is summed up for our purpose by the following quote:

> . . . the data suggested some provocative theoretical implications. For example, could the strategy of the total physical response account for the puzzling fact that children living in a foreign country achieve in a short time the fluency of native speakers while the parents of these children may struggle unsuccessfully for years to be fluent? Some theories suggest that an explanation may be imprinting or neurological differences. [A reference to speech and brain mechanisms.] However, still another possibility is that children tend to use the technique of a total physical response while their parents do not. Much of children's play is language synchronized with physical locomotion of the entire body (i.e., "Come on, Tommy, let's ride our bikes!") By contrast, most language for adults may be quite independent of physical action. Adults tend to be rather stationary and inert when they transmit or receive language (i.e., "Hello, John. Anything new today? A baby girl, eh? Well, congratulations.")
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> With the strategy of the total physical response, adults seemed to understand complex foreign utterances in an incredibly short amount of training. (Asher, 1966, 81)

Asher has much more to say on the subject; and unlike the presentation of many language-learning theories, his is supported by thorough documentation. The article repays close study. Clearly, some of the most effective language teaching efforts, especially with young children, have always been of the sort he describes. The skeptic can quickly be converted by watching a good primary teacher in the classroom or on the playground, involving her group in play activities which always have a "sneaky," clearly-structured underlying linguistic purpose. Incidentally, the totality of the physical response is the pupil's, not the instructor's. The teacher doesn't have to be an athlete.

This total-physical-response theory would seem to contradict, at least to a degree, the idea that a student learns language merely by hearing it, which is perhaps implicit in the idea of selective listening. Many students, of course, do not really hear the target language at all. Naturally, the whole vital question of motivation enters into the picture. An unmotivated, unwilling student can effectively resist any effort to teach him, no matter how well documented, scientific, or effective the method may be in other circumstances. It is entirely possible that some of the effectiveness of the total-physical-response approach may be in helping to supply motivation. This is of particular importance in the kind of situation so common in our Southwest, where a student is dumped into a school environment of strange language noises which it is assumed he will magically master. What happens usually is that he instead turns on a magical mental filter which enables him to be surrounded by language noise that he never really hears.

The problem of the nonhearer becomes more acute in areas where two languages exist side by side, but only one of them has political, economic, and social prestige, as sadly enough often happens in parts of the United States. Often then the speaker of the "lesser" language comes to the learning of the dominant language with well developed resentments and hostilities against it. It is frequently an act of approved defiance to resist the new tongue. We can contrast this with our little missionary child who is swimming in a sea of approval. Mother and father and playmates approve, the mission board applauds, the little learner's motivation skyrockets—with perhaps an attendant sharpening of aural perception.

The student who is a foreign national doesn't have the same involvement with the same social issues which affect the native-born minority groups, but he has his own problems. Often he has heard English very little, or has acquired nonstandard patterns. Today, too, his dream of coming to the United States to be saturated in an atmosphere of English is often frustrated, for colleges and universities now often have such large colonies of foreign students that the speaker of almost any language can all-too-easily find an environment just like home, linguistically speaking.

Institutions bordering on Canada or Mexico or those in the Caribbean, often have large influxes of French- or Spanish-speaking students. In its International Science Program, The University of Texas at El Paso is host to more than 300 students from its neighboring city of Juarez, Mexico alone—all, of course, native Spanish speakers. Though these students are from upper middle class Mexican society, with some exposure to English, usually about 50 percent of them fail first-semester freshman English—in a course designed for foreign students—and rely heavily on the University's offerings taught in Spanish in introductory physics, and so forth.

What is the listening program of such a Juarez student? He speaks and hears Spanish at every opportunity. When he leaves the classroom he immediately picks up his traditional language and cultural habits. At the very classroom door he is isolated from the professor and the subject matter which occupied him a few seconds before; and when he returns home to Juarez—some fifteen minutes away—he is once again submerged in the language patterns familiar since infancy. The learning situation provided by the University is short-circuited by real life.

It becomes apparent that to expect the university student to learn as a child learns, as some commercial language schools advertise, is asking too much. To expect an adult to become as a little child is possible only in the teachings of Jesus. An adult can never regain the openness of trust in his teacher, the subjugation of his reasoning powers, nor the sensitivity both of hearing and speech mechanisms to achieve the unabashed mimicry of the child. In fact, in the adult basic education area the most frequent failure of a teacher is treating an adult like a child—sometimes complete with miniature desks in classrooms borrowed from the elementary school.

One advantage the foreign student has must be emphasized: he comes to the learning of English in the university without the burden of hatreds, resentments, and angry frustrations so often built into the minority group member by his public school experiences.

Research continues into what learning as a child learns really means, and occasionally surfaces in scholarly and entertaining books or articles. One such book is *Language in the Crib* by Ruth Weir. In the foreword to her book, G. A. Miller states, "After many years of reading psychological theories about the environmental events that strengthen or weaken various stimulus-response associations, I was completely unprepared to encounter a two-year-old boy who—all alone—corrected his own pronunciations, drilled himself on consonant clusters, and practiced substituting his small vocabulary into fixed sentence frames." (Weir, 1962, 15)

Seeking more information on the multitude of experiments and experimental programs projected under current government programs encouraging ESL, the ERIC files yielded a number of statewide and local reports. California and the southwest states are well represented, what with their many Indian and Spanish-speaking inhabitants. Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona (ED 015 807) is directed especially toward Indian Educational problems and is an effort to approach children through parental involvement.*

Florida and other states have extensive reports in ERIC files but by far the most complete reports are those from California. (See listings in Bibliography 6, 13, 14, 19, 20).

Because of its breadth of material and economy of reporting, the approach taken by Levenson of San Diego State University, will be presented here. Levenson (1969) has taken his own research as well as the numerous California experimental programs and has given a concise treatise on the educational approach with the initials TEB-RETSOL, The LEA. Though Levenson begins by stating that he is committed to the bilingual approach (including teaching the beginning student to read in his own language), he suggests programs and ideas reflecting still broader study.

Levenson handles another factor at the beginning of the paper: he states that actually we must consider a number of teaching situations. There must be not one solution for one problem but many solutions for a variety of related problems.

> . . .Thus, I believe in teaching reading in two languages. Our nation has not capitalized upon the tremendous storehouse of languages and cultures represented among us. I don't believe in the "melting pot" concept simply because it has produced a nation of monolinguals.
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> . . .For years in most school districts in the United States, we've been nonchalantly expecting children who don't speak English to arrive in English-speaking classrooms and keep up with their English-speaking contemporaries. We have also assumed that non-English speaking youngsters are as ready to read in English as their English-speaking counterparts. Both of these assumptions are fallacious! In fact, they have led to an approach sometimes referred to as the "osmosis approach" where youngsters are supposed to absorb English through their pores in some magical way. Of course, this approach has been a complete failure in meeting the needs of the millions of non-English speakers in the United States. For example, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican youngsters become frustrated and discouraged as soon as they arrive in school, falling farther and farther behind with the passing of each year. By the time they reach 8th grade, approximately 50% drop out. (Levenson, 1969, 10)

Levenson goes on to develop a theory which he calls the "Language Experience Approach" to reading. The system, developed in conjunction with R. Van Allen and refined within the San Diego County area, "capitalizes upon the storehouse of listening and speaking vocabulary that youngsters either possess or develop at school or in the home." A recognizable expression that has become popular is "student prepared materials." Initially the child expresses his experiences in graphics, then relates them aloud, dictating to the teacher who in turn writes the story on the board.

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*See "Rough Rock Demonstration School," Conference on Recreation and Activities sponsored by Southwest Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, June, 1967. Also, "Understanding—Santo Domingo's RX for the Cultural Shock" by Lopez (1967).

The teacher then broadens the children's stories and uses them as a basis for demonstrations, word lists, real experiences, interpretive choral speaking, feeling, smelling, and so forth. The examples given in the final few pages are well worth the reading time (12 pages including bibliography).

"Current Problems and Classroom Practices," presented by Wardhaugh, was also on the program of the 1969 TESOL Convention in Chicago. Wardhaugh considers linguistics, psychology, and pedagogy in turn, which makes for an unusually comprehensive speech design.

> . . . This paper attempts to "bridge the gap between the practical orientation of teachers and the theoretical concerns that should underlie practice." Classroom practices should follow some kind of "middle road" in which the natural contexts of language are used to prompt language use, with an awareness of the language structures to be mastered. A teacher cannot rely on any one single, narrow, pedagogical approach, but must respond to the different learning patterns of different students, and their different motives and inclinations. This involves the use of examples, variety, and context-oriented work. The student's gradual development as a person who controls a second language is more important than his apparent mastery of certain patterns. (Wardhaugh, 1969a)

In conclusion Wardhaugh (1969b) relates approach, method, and technique as derived from Anthony (1963).

Many of the most successful language-teaching techniques had their origin in the military programs of World War II. Language teaching under the armed services program was brought to an advanced stage of development under the pressure of immediate pragmatic need. Actually the linguist obtained his running start into language teaching at that time, and a summary of the development is offered in *Armed Forces' Foreign Language Teaching* (Angiolillo, 1947). One point clearly illustrated by Angiolillo is that successful language teachers have known and used oral-aural techniques long before the armed forces' methods were worked out. The armed forces' system is a long cry from the missionary child approach but probably puts the happenings of this natural development into a systematic order which can be the first step in teaching.

Conclusion

Reconsidering the question of whether structured programs or informal oral-language activities are more desirable, we find most of the reports are theoretical—but in some cases well developed and usable. There is a trend which develops and is significant, one which can be incorporated into developing more effective teaching methods.

Training in listening and response is valuable at any level of learning a language. When the beginner can be motivated to listen to and discern the patterns of a language, at any level of learning, he develops skills which avoid later problems.

A conclusion which includes both hope and warning is that the social awareness of the student and the teacher is extremely relevant in the classroom. Whether the student is at primary or later level, his learning attitude is affected by the culture which surrounds him and its representatives who speak the language. These either encourage him or discourage him in his efforts to learn the language he is obligated to master.

Sufficient material about language teaching is now available for study, and information about it can be given to those who design our language programs in the schools.

It now appears that another, though similar, challenge is here to be met in our school systems—that of language development programs for nonstandard English speakers. The challenge is at every level of the school system and confronts every classroom teacher. No doubt a variety of approaches will be needed, but they probably will prove very much like those already explored in second language teaching.

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Cultural Content for Linguistically Different Learners*

This essay addresses its attention to an area rarely systematically examined by educators. It does not truly concern itself with the formal study of psycho- or sociolinguistics, nor in one sense does it directly involve the teaching of standard English. Rather the topic is culture, curriculum, and cross-cultural schooling. The general question posed is what should be the cultural content and, thus, implicitly the objectives, of school programs for ethnically different populations of children. To the extent that these subgroups of the young carry their cultural experience in nonstandard English or a foreign language, this paper involves language and its teaching. No solutions or panaceas are offered, rather problems and approaches are examined. Due to the real dearth of objective information, much that is said must be taken as tentative and speculative. It is hoped that the approaches suggested and the problems defined will stimulate institutional self-analysis, experimentation, and objective evaluation.

Culture and the Curriculum

Culture and its carrier language are the basic ingredients of education in whatever society. In simple societies culture is passed from generation to generation informally without schools. In more complex societies formal institutions called schools develop to augment the function of cultural transmission. Regardless of the nature of the society, the sole ingredient of all education is culture. The patterned behavior and belief system, or culture, appropriate to a given society is relearned with each succeeding batch of young. Little formal structuring or arranging of the multitude of cultural items is required in the schoolless society. More complex societies convert culture into school curriculum. Curriculum is culture as distilled, arranged, and presented to the young by the school.

There are three aspects of the formal curriculum or course of study: the content, the methods, and the sequence. Or as Phenix (1958, 57) explains it:

> A complete description of the curriculum has at least three components: (1) what is studied—the content or subject matter of instruction—(2) how the study and teaching are done—the method of instruction—and (3) when the various subjects are presented—the order of instruction.

Oversimplifying, each school, subject area, or course curriculum is derived from careful examination and analysis of specific elements or categories of the school's parent culture. Briefly, content is the knowledge, skills, values, and mores of that cul-

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ture. Method is the how-to-teach segment, determined by the common modes of behavior involved in the teacher-learner (usually parent-child) transaction. For example, if a social group commonly teaches its children to learn by passive observation or, in contrast, by active participation, then these respective behaviors become the methods of the two groups' school curriculums. Sequence likewise is determined by observation of the period in life when children acquire certain information or skills. By way of example, the American school would not begin driver education in the fourth grade; rather that item would enter the curriculum at the point, or just prior, when young people begin to drive. A language arts curriculum is composed of the same three elements and likewise is drawn from observation and analysis of that aspect of the parent society's culture (Lado, 1957). In other words, curriculum is the school's version of the culture children are hopefully to learn and reproduce; culture is the *only* source of the school curriculum. In relatively homogeneous and static cultures, the school curriculum supplements and augments the ongoing enculturation provided by parents and other significant individuals or groups. When the school deals with culturally diverse groups (cross-cultural schooling), the curriculum can be drawn from either the culture of the dominant societal segment or from that of the learner's subsociety. Occasionally the curriculum is drawn from both cultures as is the case in bicultural schools (Forbes, 1967b). Unfortunately, only rarely is the curriculum based on a subsociety's culture.

The previous paragraphs dealt with *formal* curriculum—as found in workbooks, texts, study guides, programmed instruction, or what have you. Regardless of the formal, teachers and other school personnel informally present another culture. As they are generally carriers of their society's dominant culture, their aggregate behavior becomes the *informal curriculum*. These behaviors are reflected in the school's social atmosphere, in its dress codes, behavioral standards, reward systems, and treatment of and expectations for children. The informal curriculum manifests itself in the socio-cultural "feeling tone" of a school. In most schools the informal and formal curriculums are very similar. American schools almost universally present an informal curriculum based on the standard American or middle class culture of their staff. Occasionaally other arrangements are encountered; for example, formal curriculum based on middle class culture might be presented by an aristocratic Frenchman or a black teacher. Inversely, a black studies course could be presented by a member of the KKK. Thus, the formal and informal aspects would be noncomplimentary or antagonistic. In all three examples the effect on the learner would not be that anticipated by the formal curriculum constructors; in the latter case the result might well be open animosity and perhaps violence. Both the formal and informal curriculum of the school exert profound influence on the learner in multitudinous but ill-defined ways. However, little negative reaction is anticipated if the learner group is a carrier of a culture similar to the formal and informal curriculums.

How the formal curriculum constructors perceive the culture they are charged to describe is another crucial consideration. Here two polar options are apparent; the culture can be presented realistically or idealistically. The curriculum constructor's frame of reference influences the content of the formal course of study. He can incorporate the totality; for example, the diversity and conflict so characteristic of middle class American culture. Or he can improve upon or exclude from the formal curriculum those items he defines as bad or inappropriate, thus presenting an idealized picture. The United States school curricular content is saturated with an unreal picture of the national culture; a homogeneous, static, "patriotic," tolerant, ethical tradition and culture are presented (Anti-Defamation League, 1961). This can reach the lamentable extreme of presenting what Henry (1968) refers to as "legitimate social stupidity." Other factors influence this situation; textbook sales are partially determined by regional ethnocentricism and bias. The textbook writer (a curriculum constructor) is forced, for example, to distort reality to sell his product. What Texan would permit the objective portrayal of the Alamo? Those who attempt to present historical reality usually are confronted by both sales resistance and open hostility. The relatively objective eighth-grade American history, *The Land of the Free* (Franklin et al., 1965), is a classic case in point. This is particularly true in regard to the content of "social studies"; however, it is true also in the natural sciences. Witness the persistent disputes over the inclusion of Darwin's evolutionary concepts, a significant segment of our culture's knowledge. In general, the formal curricular content is little more than a highly idealized portrayal of what conservative elements would like American history, culture, and language to be.

Language arts curriculums are unusually fine examples of nonreality and idealization. The English taught is not the real language used. Few curriculums contain the common and accepted use of, for instance, *ain't*, the split infinitive, double negatives, or, going to extremes, four-letter Anglo-Saxon words. These and many other excluded forms are common to the spoken and written language and appropriate in most segments of American society, including the middle class. Such idealizations of curricular content are covert attempts to convert the new generation into the model of what the school contends the older generation *should be*. Since no child lives or learns only in the school such attempts are rarely, if ever, successful.

Cross-Cultural Schooling

If the formal and informal curriculums supplement enculturation outside the school, few problems are encountered. Little conflict is apparent; children want to learn and do internalize and practice what they are taught in school. However, in the contemporary social context schools stress what is important *to teach* whether children desire *to learn* it or not. Continuing in this vein Mead (1943, 634) proposes that:

> There are several striking differences between our concept of education today and that of any contemporary primitive society; but perhaps the most important one is the shift from the need for an individual to learn something which everyone agrees he would wish to know, to the will of some individual [or group] to teach something which it is not agreed that anyone has any desire to know.

In complex societies such as ours, characterized by cultural heterogeneity and rapid social change, the school is in a real quandary. The young do not necessarily want to learn or see no need to know those things educators so honestly desire to teach. A teacher-learner dichotomy develops, contributing to the increasing rates of mental and physical school dropout, disruption on campus, and vociferous demands for curricular relevance.

When the school attempts to instill or teach a culture divergent from that of its students, the above described situation is exacerbated (Burger, 1968). Real and grievous problems are predictable. Culturally and linguistically distinct children rarely incorporate or practice the culture the school carries in its formal and informal curriculums. Seeing little need of the items taught, seeing them as irrelevant or in conflict to the home enculturation, the "foreign learner" profits little from the experience and in the process often rejects the school, the culture it teaches, and the society it represents.

The American school has historically perceived its role in teaching across cultures as one of augmenting and hastening the process of acculturation, as remodeling, retooling, and reorienting the diverse foreign, immigrant, or lower class children into model middle class Americans. This approach is beautifully expressed by Brogan (1950, 135), who views the school's role *vis á vis* the culturally different as teaching Americanism:

> . . . meaning not merely political and patriotic dogma, but the habits necessary to American life . . . the common language, common habits, common tolerances, a common political and national faith. The main . . . achievement of the high schools and grammar schools is to bring together the young of all classes and all origins, to provide, artificially, the common background that in old, rural society is provided by tradition . . .'

The vast majority of educators continue to firmly hold such views; the formal and informal curriculums imply and encourage the almost forceful eradication of the foreign or different. English teachers are particularly susceptible to this ideology:

> . . . the teacher defines her goal in regard to the Negro ghetto child as that of stamping out his "bad" language (which relates to his culture and his basic Negro identity) and replacing the child's language with standard middle-class English. (Baratz and Baratz, 1969, 402)

Unless educators change this orientation, school failure with culturally diverse groups will continue.

Regardless of the claims of some historians and most educators, this writer submits that the school contributed little to the rapid acculturation of earlier diverse groups of immigrant children. Rather an era of expanding economic and social opportunity and the force of urban living did the job. Generally speaking, wherever large relatively homogeneous and socially isolated groups of culturally different people (for example, American Indians, rural poor or ghetto blacks, Spanish Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, or "hillbillies") come into intense and sustained contact with schools, the result is almost invariably low academic achievement, high absenteeism, "discipline problems," and early mental and physical dropout (Fischer and Mondale, 1970, United States Department of Labor, 1964). This obvious failure is rationalized by schoolmen by recourse to the "cultural deprivation theory," or what has been called the "*vacuum ideology of education*" (Wax et al., 1964).

The cultural groups in question are seen to fail in school because they are deprived of the experiences and socialization assumed to be common among middle-class children. Assuming this proposition, the educational establishment remedies the situation with compensatory and remedial programs. These usually entail no substantial changes in the formal or informal curriculums or objectives but rather are intensified and concentrated efforts to accomplish what the regular program failed to do (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966). Traditional compensatory education does not work.

> Larger doses of the same medicine in a new bottle do not appear capable of curing the ills of urban education. The recent evaluations contained in the Coleman report on compensatory education and the reports of the Center for Urban Education on the More Effective Schools confirm these assertions. (Baratz and Baratz, 1969, 401)

The cycle continues; *poverty and foreignness lead to school failure which leads to foreignness and poverty*. The school is not usually successful in modifying the learner's culture or language, nor in bringing the child into more full and equal participation in American society.

Why is the school usually unsuccessful in changing the culture or language of its ethnically distinct students? Gillin (1948, 546) has proposed four conditions that must be met before one social group will accept cultural items (either material or nonmaterial) from another. While not proposed as conditions related to educational institutions, they serve beautifully for exposition. The school serves as an agent of cultural transmission, carrying to the receiving group those items it wishes to have incorporated. The receiving society or subsociety will incorporate those items:

> 1. if the society in question is under drives [felt needs] which are not satisfied adequately by presently available resources; . . .
> 2. if new solutions are adequately presented so that they may be comprehended and grasped . . .
> 3. if the practice of the new cultural patterns is teachable . . .
> 4. if the new items show promise of or can be proved to deliver more reward and satisfaction than currently available items. (Gillin, 1948, 543)

The mere introduction of a new cultural item, be it language or a contraceptive device, no matter how skillfully presented, does not guarantee its acceptance.

Considering Gillin's conditions, imagine that the school is attempting to change the language used by a relatively homogeneous subsociety of black ghetto youngsters—to *convert* them from "soul" to standard English. The school's objective is that the children will assume and persist in the use of the more universal language. Instead of stressing educator willingness and skill in teaching the item, look at the situation from the frame of reference of the black ghetto youngster. Do his peers, parents, neighbors, or other reference groups feel in any way inadequate in language ability? Do they lack ability to communicate within their own society? Do soul speakers see their language as inferior; are they under some drive to accept a new language? To all questions the answer is generally no.

The language spoken by a social group may have symbolic value quite apart from its usefulness as a tool of communication (Labov and Robins, 1969; Rubel, 1966). In the case of the black movement we see emerging linguistic and racial pride. Not only does the group not feel a need to change, but they are developing a powerful brand of black chauvinism. Additionally, their language is gaining wide popularity among many segments of the dominant society, especially the young. Soul as expressed in literature is becoming a generally accepted language art form. Gillin's first condition for acceptance of a cultural item may be working in reverse. The dominant linguistic group may be under a felt need for new modes of expression; our older "sterile" middle-class English may be inappropriate or deficient in the presently rapidly changing cultural milieu.

The next crucial point involves reward (condition four), as considered from the subgroup's point of view and in a number of contexts. Tax and Thomas (1969, 19), two anthropologists concerned with cross-cultural schooling, stress the importance of the learner group:

> An individual is most likely to improve his speech and reading skills if his particular social group places real value on these accomplishments. The crucial factor in basic education is not a matter of technique. Rather it is a matter of gaining social support for the undertaking.

The degree of satisfaction (reward) an individual receives from the use of standard English depends on many factors. Of primary importance is the school's traditional intrinsic reward system: grades, teacher approval and praise, promotion, scholastic awards, and so forth. High quality language performance is sustained in the classroom to the degree the students value these systemic or intrinsic rewards. The teacher, if *highly significant* to students, may well help sustain quality performance; however, the degree of influence of other "significant others" (an extrinsic reward system) must be considered as *the* crucial factor. If the learner's peers, or other reference groups, negatively sanction such systemic or school rewards it is doubtful that quality performance can be sustained even within the limited confines of the classroom (Epstein, 1966).

Evidence as to the paramount influence of ethnic peer groups on school behavior and academic performances indicates that strong pressures are often brought to set low levels of achievement (Heller, 1960; Robles, 1964; Wax et al. 1964). It is doubtful that many ghetto peer societies support high levels of classroom performance or, much less, the sustained use of standard English outside institutional walls. School reward may mean peer punishment. For example, the receiving of an A may be a punishment if it involves the strong negative sanctioning by the reference group of the youngster (his significant others).

If the practice of the school-taught culture—speech, manners, morals, or other items—realistically guarantees a future reward, children will learn and practice it. For example, Mexican Americans who speak English with heavy accents will learn and practice unaccented speech if it is known of a certainty that the future position in society desired demands it and that local society permits that ethnic group to occupy that status. As Cloward and Jones (1962, 2) point out:

> The major inducement of educational achievement in our society is the promise of future occupational reward. If, however, it is known in advance that these rewards will be largely withheld from certain socio-economic and racial groups, then it is unlikely that high levels of educational achievement can be sustained in such groups. Thus, academic performance may be devalued because the young of such groups see no relationship between it and the realities of their future.

This position, relating the society to the school and to motivation, is rarely examined by schoolmen but is of utmost importance (Epstein, 1966; Johnson, 1969). By implication this means that standard English will be learned and practiced by Juanito, who desires to be, for example, a pharmacist, if the following conditions are met: (1) if to be a pharmacist one must speak standard English; (2) if Mexican Americans are permitted to be pharmacists by the local society (if the slot is open to Mexican Americans); and (3) if financial means for the education required are realistically available. Schoolmen usually subsume all this in the term *motivation*, assuming simplistically that if Juanito doesn't learn he does not want to learn. In reality Juanito is acting quite rationally; there is nothing wrong with him, rather, something is wrong with society. Future and present reward, as variously defined by the school, the individual and his reference group, and the general society, must be present if the learner group is to assume the cultural item so diligently taught.

Given that the group is under drives for the new items taught and sees their acquisition as providing future or present reward, Gillin's other two conditions must be met. In the case of standard English, both can be met. Standard English can be presented in a comprehensible manner, can be grasped, and can be learned. Gillin's points two and three would be generally met if technically sophisticated linguistic approaches are intelligently employed. In the case of the assumption of other cultural items, for example, middle class orientation to time, punctuality, morality, cleanliness, and so forth, we have not progressed very far in a technical sense.

No discussion of the problems of cross-cultural schooling is complete without mention of the curricular "relevancy-irrelevancy" continuum. For our purposes, a curricular item is on the side of learner relevancy if:

1. the content is similar or highly related to the knowledge, skills, or values he is acquiring through nonschool socialization;
2. the methods of instruction correspond to his cultural group's acceptable teacher-learner behavior; and,
3. if the item is introduced in sequence with similar items outside the school.

Inversely the curriculum is irrelevant when these conditions are not met. On the extreme side of irrelevancy is conflict where the learner sees what, when, and how an item is taught as being in violent contradiction to his ongoing home socialization. Much of the curriculum is irrelevant to even middle-class learners; it may be conflictive to many culturally different learners.

Naturally the skillful teacher can help bridge the relevancy-irrelevancy gap by developing a relationship between the two. For example, the teacher could "logically" relate the traditional, but irrelevant, "parts of speech" to a relevant item, say, improved verbal communication. Teachers have valiantly played this game for years; it often works. However, it works best when future or present reward is clearly evident in the learner's mind. Students have superficially learned (memorized and responded at appropriate stimuli) all manner of irrelevancies, nonsense, and untruths. If the learner wants what the school and social system provide, he develops a high irrelevancy threshold; he puts up with all manner of unpleasantness and nonsense. Unfortunately the culturally different learner usually has a low threshold in this regard since he often neither values the present reward or cannot get or does not want the future reward.

Conflict is the extreme form of irrelevancy; here the items presented in the formal and informal curriculums run counter to deeply ingrained behaviors and beliefs. While irrelevancies are merely meaningless, conflict items may cause severe personal and group reactions. Herskovits (1952, 315) states rather categorically:

> The conflict in directives is perhaps the source of the most serious difficulties in larger, less homogeneous societies, where the total educational process includes schooling as well as training in the home. Serious conflicts and deep-seated maladjustments may result from education received at the hands of persons whose cultural or sub-cultural frames of reference differ.

What the formal and informal curriculums present as a truth is seen as false; what is taught as valuable is seen as without value; what is taught as morally good is seen as bad. In his studies of culture conflict, Ramirez (1967, 7) concludes that many "traditional" Mexican Americans bring

> . . . values with [them] to the school which in many cases are in direct opposition to those of their teachers, counselors and principals. Not only must the bicultural student face conflicts at school; he also meets conflicts in the home when the values he learns at school are opposed by parents. He is thus continually faced with the ominous choice of conforming or quitting. This usually results in feelings of

> insecurity and eventually in negative feelings toward the school which he comes to see as the source of his frustration and ambivalence.

The ultimate product of culture conflict as induced by the two curriculums is usually the rejection of the school-taught items; the learner remaining essentially what his own group dictates. However, caught between two sets of norms many children react negatively; some vehemently reject the "foreign culture" imposed, the school, and the dominant society it represents. Others internalize the conflict, thus contributing to the personal adjustment problems (Spindler, 1955; Voget, 1956; Werner, 1963).

The preceding paragraphs briefly touched upon a few of the problems associated with cross-cultural schooling. The majority of present school efforts result in little modification of relatively homogeneous cultural groups. Most such children persist as members of their own culture and as speakers of their own foreign or nonstandard language with only minimum ability in standard English and only slight knowledge of the dominant culture the school so diligently teaches them. Present efforts would probably result in changed behavior if: (1) school offered both intrinsic and extrinsic reward in the present; (2) perseverance in school guaranteed a future reward acceptable and available to the learner subsociety; (3) the formal and informal curriculums were relevant and nonconflictive; and (4) the learner subsociety were under drives to accept new cultural items as Gillin suggests. Rarely are all these conditions met; rarely are even a few met.

Change Demanded

Rather than seeing the school as a missionary endeavor, as an agent of acculturation and cultural innovation, we should see it as teaching *coping*. Our job should be to help the learner group "take advantage of" the dominant society, its culture and language (Allen, 1969). Efforts must be directed toward providing the tools useful both in the present and future. Nothing must be done that implies to the learner that standard English or middle class culture is superior to his own. I propose that the objectives of standard English and *all* cross-cultural schooling are to cope; the learner to be:

1. able to use standard English when it is appropriate to a given social situation and when it is to the individual's benefit.
2. knowledgeable about American middle class culture in order to successfully function within that society if desired or if presented with the opportunity.

Assuming acceptance and implementation of the coping objective, two other school related mechanisms are essential. Concomitant with the new approach, steps must be taken to assist the learner: (1) to decide in what social contexts each language and pattern of behavior is appropriate; and (2) to ameliorate whatever culture conflict is unintentionally engendered by the presentation of divergent culture. Both problems can probably be met in carefully structured and long term nondirective group counseling.

Coping as an objective and an approach is analogous to foreign language teaching. For example, the objective of French instruction is clearly fluency in that language and information concerning the French culture. The teacher does not desire to convert American kids into French kids. Classroom French will be learned, at least superficially, if the learner groups: (1) value the intrinsic or systemic rewards provided; (2) have the support of significant others; and (3) desire the possible future reward. The further the school is away from France, the more it must rely on systemic rewards. If the school were in France, present extrinsic rewards would be increased; if the learner knew he would move to France next semester, future reward would be more immediate and a more powerful inducement. In teaching standard English to, for example, black soul speakers the situation is similar. However, soul speakers are not learning a truly foreign language and culture.

The future, and perhaps present, reward for the use of standard English and knowledge about the real middle class society is greater than in the case of Americans learning French. While the ghetto dweller interacts principally within his own group, he is constantly exposed to the dominant society and regularly interacts with it. If he uses the skills taught in school with intelligence in his interaction with the dominant society he will generally be rewarded. In order for this reward to become a motivating force for:

> . . . adolescents and pre-adolescents to learn standard English, it would be wise to emphasize its value for handling social situations, avoiding conflict (or provoking conflict when desired), for influencing and controlling people. (Labov, 1969, 10)

For example, police, teachers, store-keepers, welfare workers, in the present, and employers, supervisors, and coworkers in the future, would react more to the individual's advantage if he speaks their language and knows their ways. Regardless of the increased present and future rewards, the soul speaker usually finds the systemic and intrinsic rewards of school to be minimal. The major point of coping approaches is that learners should react more positively to them than to attempts at "forceful" conversion, with its inherent derogation of the different culture.

The Real World

Regardless of suggestions for change, the real social and school worlds have not changed; culturally and linguistically different children continue to profit little from school. The very real problems associated with cross-cultural schooling are rarely recognized and even more rarely constructively resolved. Teachers of standard English can normally accomplish very little to either change society or their schools. Regardless, they *can* modify their own classes, which brings us finally to the problem originally posed. What should be the curricular content of courses in standard English?

Before examining proposed changes, a quick look at the average social and school context is essential. The majority of culturally distinct children live in areas of high concentration of their own group and attend neighborhood schools where their group overwhelmingly predominates. Most social interaction in both contexts is restricted to members of their own relatively homogeneous group. While the mass media, the school, and other social agencies intrude into their social isolation, the children's significant others are generally restricted to their own group. These kids live in a separate subsociety and attend de facto segregated schools. These characteristics would generally describe the majority of the targets of standard English instruction whether they be black, Mexican American, American Indian, or what have you.

The schools these children attend differ only slightly from those in the middle class suburbs as far as staff, formal and informal curriculum, organization, behavioral standards, and so forth are concerned. The formal curricular content is drawn almost exclusively from a highly idealized version of middle class traditions, language, values, and mores. Likewise the informal curriculum is middle class, representing the behavior, world view, and expectations of the generally middle class staff. Regardless of their ethnic or racial background, teachers tend to be super middle class (Carter, 1970; Clark, 1965). Children are confronted by these two curriculums every hour of the school day from their first day in school to their last. In all grades and subjects, children are constantly bombarded with efforts to teach them proper English and middle-class norms. This places culturally different children at a severe disadvantage (Wakefield and Silvaroli, 1969). The major difference between the average ghetto and the suburban school is the shift from the implicit objective of enculturation to that of acculturation. In such a situation special classes in standard English, to be effective, must be radically different than other aspects of school. Given the present deplorable reservation, *barrio*, and ghetto school situations, how can classes in standard English be more productive?

First, success of such classes or programs must be the ability to use standard English in the future. The success-failure of standard English instruction is not measured achievement at the end of the academic year but is real functioning proficiency at the point of school exit. Instruments of any kind to assess yearly or short term success-failure must be used as diagnostic measures to improve instruction. Secondly, the objectives of the instructional sequence must be coping as earlier defined. The instructor must in no manner derogate, deprecate, or deny either the language or the culture of the learner group. The program objective is to add new skills, not modify the cultural orientation. Third, modern linguistically oriented instructional techniques must be judiciously employed.

Given the acceptance of these three provisos, what of the content, sequence, and method of instruction in standard English? Recognizing that other aspects of the learner group's total school experience are generally negative leads one to suggest some rather radical approaches. Standard English activities must become positive experiences. To make such classes highly rewarding, relevant, and seen positively demands intensive teacher and institutional self-study, as well as curricular reorganization.

The cultural content of the formal curriculum, that is the culture presented to the child while he learns standard English, is of utmost importance. In general, cultural content should progress from the familiar to the unfamiliar or the known to the unknown (Committee of First Grade and Kindergarten Teachers, 1962). Standard English for young learners should be taught carrying the culture of their subsociety. As the learners progress in school, language courses should realistically present the unknown middle class culture. Idealized middle class life styles would be of little use or extrinsic reward to the learner as he interacts with real carriers of that culture. For the young learner the teacher should be from the learner's subsociety, or at least be able to play that role. Thus, for the younger child the informal and formal curriculums would be similar to his own experience, only the language would be different. The older child would profit from an informal and formal curriculum reflecting how the other half lives. This is a big order; however, it should increase relevancy for the young learner while providing objective information about middle-class culture to the older.

If these suggestions become reality, some method must be found to bring the real subculture into the formal curriculum (Davis, 1964). Most descriptions of black, Mexican American, or Indian subcultures do not suffice; they are usually too superficial, too localized, and too idealized. What can be done? A number of possible procedures are available; these can be called culturally projective approaches. These encourage the learners to project their own and their group's aggregate experience into the formal curriculum. Educators are familiar with such approaches as "show and tell," language-experience techniques (Lee and Allen, 1963; Stauffer, 1970), "role playing," and telling stories to pictures. However, rarely do they realize that these serve to incorporate the learner's culture as the base of the curricular content. The total formal curriculum should be constructed on this basis (John, 1965). Once such relevant experience (group culture) is introduced by the learners, the teacher "translates" the nonstandard dialect used by the children into standard English. For example, common soul phrases and words become standard English. However, the culture or experience represented by the language does not change. This would be similar to telling a story in English in a Spanish class and the teacher translating it into Spanish. The experience related in the story becomes the formal curricular content yet the language taught is Spanish. If the teacher knows the learner group's culture very well, or is herself a carrier of it, she can aid immeasurably in the above process. This approach means increased work for teachers; not only must they construct their own texts or other materials, but they must develop pattern, substitution, and other language drills on the basis of translations of children's common utterances. The children's culture becomes the content of the curriculum; only the language taught changes.

Sequence and method of instruction must likewise incorporate the learner's subcultural experience. If, for example, the learner group is well aware of money, change making, and so forth by the age of six, that content item must enter the curriculum at that age. Teaching methods in the school must also reflect parent-child teaching behavior. This might mean a different reinforcement or reward system than the one appropriate in suburbia. Careful observation of the specific learner group should help determine if traditional systemic rewards in the form of grades, promotion, prizes, and so forth are valued. If they are not, eliminate them, substituting items valued by the learners. Perhaps monetary reward or a token economy would be more productive than symbols of success valued by the middle class. The reward system of the classroom must be adjusted to the reward system of the learner group. Well prepared and conscientious teachers must determine methods and sequence appropriate to their specific students. The situation varies from group to group and from school to school; no generalizations are possible.

It must be recognized that the very nature of the acceptable modern techniques of language instruction have built-in boredom factors that tend to lower the very real personal reward of ability to communicate in the second language. Everything possible to encourage such personally intrinsic reward should be attempted. "A prime source of these motivating factors is the student's awareness of his own growth in mastering a new mode of symbolic expression" (Brooks, 1968, 21). Foreign language classes can be, but are not usually, self-motivating. It must be personally rewarding (fun in itself) to learn standard English; the teacher cannot count on systemic, extrinsic, or future reward as motivating factors.

In order to accomplish the essential modification of content, sequence, and method, teachers must have an intimate knowledge of the learner group's culture. Formal preparation can aid the teacher in this; however, it cannot supplant ongoing teacher involvement with the subsociety.

Experimental teacher preparation sequences must be established to help the teacher realistically see, feel, and accept the different culture (Carter, 1969).

Closing Thoughts

Many problems beset the teacher of standard English to linguistically and culturally different groups. Linguistic scientists have contributed to the amelioration of the problems by developing techniques of language teaching. However, this is only a feeble first step; no matter how sophisticated the techniques become they do not guarantee success. I have pointed out that the gross concept *learner motivation*, in all its multitudinous dimensions, is the crucial factor. The members of culturally different learner groups and their perception of and relationship with the school and the dominant society must be carefully analyzed. We have only scratched the surface in this area; instead of focusing on what and how to teach, we must examine what is or is not learned and why.

Massive school reorientation and reorganization is essential if we are to substantially aid culturally different children. The acculturation objective must be eliminated; the concept of coping as a viable alternative is suggested. Both the formal and informal curriculums must be substantially modified. Until such change is accomplished the teacher of standard English must make that program the very antithesis of the other elements of school.

Therefore, for young learners, it is proposed that the formal and informal curriculums reflect the content, method, and sequence of the learners' own subculture. In other words, translate their language into standard English, while incorporating group culture as the base of the curriculum. As the child becomes older, middle-class culture should be introduced; however, it must be taught realistically, not highly glorified and idealized. Hopefully, this will increase relevancy for the young while providing valid information on the real middle class culture so necessary for rewarding interaction with the dominant society. No specific outline for the reorganization of schools is proposed. However, the concept of coping and the problems outlined should provide some clues (Forbes, 1967; Nostrand, 1967). Thoughtful and well prepared teachers of standard English could become the forerunners of future school reorientation and reorganization by demonstrating that newer approaches are productive of the explicitly set goal of coping.

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Developing Language Skills and Self-Concept: Which Content Areas Are Most Promising?*

The ostensible purpose of this article was to review the literature, especially that literature catalogued in the ERIC banks, relevant to the following issues: Should expository or literary content, or both, be used for developing language skills and self-concept (among linguistically different learners)? What roles should such areas as science, social studies, literature, and "emergency vocabulary" play in the language and concept development?

Since there is apparently no research literature bearing directly on these issues and since there are relatively few opinion articles related to these issues, the real purposes of the article are to delineate the issues in more detail and to outline research strategies which one could use to answer the questions raised, if, indeed, one cared to answer them.

"Should expository or literary content, or both, be used for developing language skills and self-concept?" An obvious answer to this question is, "Yes, both for developing both!" A not so obvious issue is to what extent the use of fairy tales, satire, metaphor, and the like should be utilized as content in the early stages of second-language acquisition. The difficulty linguistically different school beginners face in assessing the presence or absence of make-believe and/or double meanings should not be overlooked. An illustration of the effect of meaning difficulties at the adult level is the complete frustration and near breakdown of a graduate student from the Far East who, despite minimal competency in oral English, was placed in a graduate English course on satire. Though not discussed in the present paper, the use of literature as bibliotherapy represents still another dimension of the issue.

Nevertheless, given the goals which our schools have generally accepted, at some point in time, we want all children, not merely linguistically different learners, to deal with expository and literary material. It is possible, however, that for developing either language skills or self-concept, one or the other type of content is preferable at a particular point in the continuum of language development.

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[1] Research carried out at The University of Texas at Austin as a Faculty Associate in the National Science Foundation USDP #1598 program for research in language and behavior.

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One plausible argument is that since linguistically different learners usually enter school with poor self-concepts, in ESL or bilingual programs we need to use that literary content which emphasizes the value of the learner's cultural heritage. The literary content in such a situation might well be stories of strong-willed folk heroes, characters with whom the learner can easily identify. For some educators that would constitute sufficient justification for using literary content. For others, however, an even stronger justification would arise from the argument that the learner develops positive associations with the school and its activities because he senses that the school values his culture and his need for self-esteem. Hence he is able to participate more enthusiastically and more beneficially in school activities in general, including second language learning.

On the other hand, those who favor expository materials could conceivably argue that certain kinds of expository material, e.g., science materials, would exhibit less cultural bias than other materials. Hence, in terms of concepts included in the content, culturally different learners would not be beginning their school careers as far behind typical standard-English speakers as they might be with content exhibiting greater cultural bias.

In such a scheme, the linguistically different learners' growth in self-concept would have to result from their success with the content. Ideally, they would have just as good, or as poor, a chance of succeeding or failing as the standard-English speakers.

Such an argument is only partially correct. Linguistically different learners still have to learn standard English. In effect, the extent of their inequality is reduced, but it is not erased entirely.

Given that one accepts the literary-expository issue as relevant to the instruction of linguistically different learners, he will find little evidence in either the form of research or opinion to help him decide the issue.

First of all, there is apparently no research program which has used type of content—expository versus literary—as a variable in a study concerned with second language learning among young children.

Secondly, the opinion articles that exist: (a) tend to be concerned with second language learning among adults; and (b) say little more than the fact that content must match the interests of students in order to foster learning. Allen (1965) illustrated the point vividly. When a group of visiting Korean professors were given an oral-aural English program developed for college students, the results were disastrous. Apparently the learned gentlemen were not motivated by dialogues depicting the dating habits of college students.

Scott (1964) suggests that the real purpose of literature in an ESL program is to provide orientation for the non-English speaker to America's cultural heritage and setting. Although he recommends altering grammatical structure and vocabulary in order to simplify the task for the learner, he views literature selections in an ESL program as "rewards to be administered after a degree of linguistic proficiency has been gained." Note that Scott is suggesting the inclusion of literature in order to develop "other-concept," not self-concept. Implicit in that suggestion is the assumption that the development of self-concept is independent of, or at least irrelevant to, the literary thrust of an ESL program. In short, he is talking about adults rather than children.

Arthur (1968) offers the only suggestion possibly relevant for younger learners. He claims that the teacher should observe what folk tales and stories children enjoy in their native language and then translate these selections into English for subsequent reading or listening lessons. Arthur's suggestion meshes easily into a scheme which regards the development of the linguistically different learner's self-concept as a primary objective of the ESL program. It is interesting that Chall (1967) has recommended using folk tales as the basis for the content of basal readers to be used with school children in general.

In the last analysis, the question posed at the beginning of this section—"Should literary or expository content, or both, be used for developing language skills and self-concept?"—ought to be solved by an empirical test. It is not too difficult to generate a research design which would use type of content as a major treatment variable.

The greatest difficulty would arise in developing satisfactory measures for the dependent variables of interest—self-concept and language development. For example, Bordie (1970) has testified to the lack of adequate measures of language development for linguistically different learners. Measures of the degree of self-concept a learner possesses are difficult to imagine, in principle. Horn (1966) and Taylor (1969) found that the lack of a good measure of language development hampered their ability to draw conclusions about the effect of treatment variables in a program designed to develop language skills among Mexican-American children.

The first step, then, in any well-motivated research endeavor whose purpose is to assess the effect of content, is to develop adequate outcome measures. The next step is to define treatments which differ solely in the content that is used in the context of teaching the skills of standard English. This means that a number of factors need to be held constant across treatments: the methodology for presenting pattern drills; the sequencing of various grammatical patterns, phonological skills, and lexical items; and the quantity and quality of instruction. Finally, those treatments must be effected for a length of time sufficient to allow real differences to emerge.

What Roles Should Such Areas as Science, Social Studies, Literature, and "Emergency Vocabulary"[2] Play in Language and Concept Development?

It is the general function of areas like science and social studies, and possibly literature, to teach concepts. That is why these areas exist in any curriculum. However, traditionally they have no role relevant to language development, except teaching specific vocabulary (which is really more of a concept development task).

In ESL programs the usual assumption has been that the concepts from the content fields ought to be delayed until the learner has developed requisite skill in phonology, syntax, and basic semantics. Hence the content of the traditional oral-aural programs has centered around clusters such as "my family," "my home," "my school," and the like—content for which it could safely be assumed the learner possessed at least some conceptual background. Then, after the learner has mastered whatever the essential skills of standard English are considered to be, he is placed in a curriculum which attempts to teach the concepts of social studies, science, and literature in standard English.

This is clearly not the only, nor the most logically viable, alternative. It clearly assumes that the development of standard

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[2] The role of emergency vocabulary is simple and direct. For the child's safety, every teacher of linguistically different learners has a moral responsibility to learn the emergency vocabulary of the learner. Likewise, the emergency vocabulary of standard English should be taught as quickly as possible. The issue will not be dealt with further in this article.

English is the paramount goal of the curriculum. Further, it assumes that the concepts of the content areas are best taught, or can only be taught, in standard English. Neither of these assumptions should go unquestioned. As a matter of fact, Wolfram (1970) presents a serious challenge to both, at least with respect to speakers of a nonstandard dialect of English.

Horn (1966) and his colleagues (Knight, 1969; Taylor, 1969) developed a program for Spanish-speaking students which assumed that the content of the ESL program should be based upon concepts from the content areas. They built an oral-aural program (encompassing basic syntactical and phonological rules) around content extracted from the AAAS elementary science materials. Three treatments were contrasted: (1) an oral-aural program presented in English, (2) an oral-aural program presented in Spanish, and (3) a program with no specific language strand built into it. It was not until the fifth year of the program that they developed a measure of language development they felt they could rely on. At that time, interestingly, existing differences in competence in English tended to favor the oral-aural Spanish treatment. Taylor (1969) felt this was because the systematic presentation of Spanish syntax and phonology provided a benchmark against which learners were able to contrast English syntax and phonology picked up incidentally in other parts of the school curriculum or environment. Taylor did not report any data concerning the relative levels of development in science content.

Taylor's unexpected San Antonio finding, i.e., the superiority of the oral-aural Spanish treatment, suggests that the interaction between language and concept development ought to be an area of research containing rich possibilities.

Two outcome measures are important: language mastery and content mastery. We have been too little concerned with content mastery in the past. It is time that we recognized its importance in connection with ESL and bilingual programs.

The most important variable is the ordering of new content (whether literary or expository) relative to language skill development. One level should be a successive ordering, where language skills are taught with familiar content (traditional program) and then concepts from content areas are taught in standard English. A second level should be a simultaneous ordering, where language skills are introduced at the same time as new concepts (similar to the oral-aural English program of Horn et al.). Note that a third ordering, also successive, is logically possible: the presentation of concepts from the content areas in the learner's native language or dialect followed by presentation of the skills of standard English. It too should be included.

A second variable, suggested by Taylor's findings, should be direct instruction in the native language as well as standard English. The two levels of this variable, inclusion or exclusion, should be completely crossed with the ordering variable, yielding six distinct treatments (Figure 1).

Certain factors need to be held constant, such as total instructional time, the mode of presenting language skills (i.e., oral-aural), and teacher effectiveness.

While the design seems cumbersome, time consuming, and expensive, it need be only if we use large blocks of instruction and whole classroom procedures. If we are willing to establish an intensive pilot phase wherein *smaller* groups of students are more intensively instructed for a *shorter* period of time, ineffectual treatments can be noted and discarded in subsequent research phases.

If one is concerned with the possibility that the shorter treatment period will not

Figure 1

		1		2	3	
		Successive		*Simultaneous*	*Successive*	
		Standard English with familiar content	Then new content	Standard English with new content	New content in native language or dialect	Then standard English
Systematic Instruction in Native Language or Dialect	Yes					
	No					

allow real effects to emerge as statistically significant, he can easily relax the traditional .05 or .01 levels in the pilot phase, using the justification that a treatment surpassing the others at the .15 level, for example, in a short period of time might well surpass them at the .05 level in a longer period.

A later phase would include (most probably) fewer treatments effected for *longer* periods of time in *regular* classroom settings. But the first stage is necessary in order to weed out ineffectual treatments and maintain very sharp distinctions between the treatments employed.

The paucity of research relevant to the issues stated at the outset of this article makes it impossible to draw any conclusions relevant to classroom practice. However, the issues are not, in principle, impossible to settle. What is needed is well planned, hard-headed research. The issues are, in short, empirical questions.

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Content and Teachers in Oral Language Acquisition—Means or Ends?*

Children are failing in school. Something needs to be done. Failing at what? And for what reasons? In most schools, the failure can be located in weaknesses in the use of language and its reflection in reading difficulties. Identifying causes for this failure is a much more difficult task.

Williams (1970) describes two alternative bases for lack of language skills. A first reference frame has been derived from comparison of those who are successful in school with those who are less successful. Comparison or contrasts of this nature usually result in generalizations about "developmental lags" on the part of low achievers which are assumed to be related to lack of home or other social experiences. This deprivation or deficit position is illustrated in such work as Hawkins (1969). He found that five-year-old children's oral language skills were clearly related to home environment. Children from London working-class homes used more pronouns than middle-class English children who used more nouns. Noun usage was found to make it easier for the child to expand his communication skills through the use of modifier rather than pronoun usage. Similar effects of culturally disadvantaged children in the inner city were described by Green (1969) and Baldwin (1970).

As a possible way in which home background affects children, Ammon's study (1969) suggests an interesting hypothesis. He investigated the effect of a listener's expectation on his understanding of communication. With fifth grade students and college students, he found that the listener's expectation was a more important contributor to understanding than the content of the communication. Chandler and Erickson (1968) also found that populations not only differ in language style expectation but also in inquiry patterns. Inner-city students characteristically presented propositions as conclusions at the beginning of inquiry and consistently failed to see the source for invalid conclusions.

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If one follows the deficit argument as the cause of low language achievement, then the solution is a "cultural injection" as described by Williams (1970) in which

> . . . a preschool compensatory program will have to have this child learning at an even greater rate because his problem is essentially one of "catching up." Accordingly a pre-school program should concentrate directly upon the most critical of skills needed for school, and this is language. (1970, 4)

As an alternative, Williams (1970) also suggests that low achievement may be inferred as related to differences in the linguistic context of the child. When a child is demonstrating low language achievement, he does not really lack any language but rather his language is different than that being tested. The "difference" position recognizes that children are failing. While the "deficit" position would emphasize the child's lack of readiness for school experiences and would provide remedial experiences, the *difference* position underscores the school's lack of readiness for children who have different experience and language styles. Their focus would be on modifying schools to accept more than a single strand of our culture. In this way the motivational aspect of school has become an essential area of concern. This is related to Simpson's (1953) six levels of motivation or degrees of intensity for human behavior. As they apply to oral language acquisition, the first level is where learning to communicate orally is based on fear in the child of the consequences of his *not* learning to talk. A slightly higher level is when a child learns to communicate verbally for external rewards—a star or a smile—without understanding why he is learning to communicate. At a third level, a child is learning to communicate orally under circumstances when he understands that he must, but when he rejects the reasons and continues to strive because of external rewards available.

At the fourth level, a child is acquiring oral language in situations in which he understands why he should, he accepts these purposes and works to successfully accomplish them. There is one limitation: the child has no share in forming the purposes or selecting the content of his language instruction. At the fifth level, the child participates in setting up the goals, while in the sixth level he independently sets up goals and works toward their achievement with a minimum of help from others.

If it cannot be successfully argued that oral language instruction today is meeting the needs of the majority of our students, one can wonder if, in the scientific design of oral language materials and instruction, the motivation level of the student has been reduced from Simpson's level six or five closer to level one or two? An analysis of the literature of 1966-70 emphasizes that when remedial oral language programs are undertaken, they consistently focus on increased involvement of students in selecting *what* they are to discuss. Why should the use of this strategy be reserved for use only when a child is labeled "remedial"?

To further compound the problem of language, the view one has about the function of experience in oral language development is also related to the design of programs for children. Williams identifies this problem:

> Current thinking on developmental psycholinguistics centers mostly upon a nativist view of language acquisition which stresses that children are biologically predisposed to develop language and that the environment triggers rather than serves up the stages of development. This. . . . (in contrast) to the more traditional learning-theory based environmentalist views that a child's genetic asset in language acquisition is his superior learning capabil-

> ity and that his linguistic knowledge and skills are solely the product of his experiences. (1970, 6)

A third alternative to the problem is to recognize that oral language development may be both caused by the experience and provide direction in the child's search for meaning in new experiences. Williams writes:

> An emerging generalization in the sociolinguistic theory is that the normal development of a child's language must be viewed relative to the demands of his primary speech community. (1970, 7)

Providing the child with an increased perceptual awareness of his environment, in a setting in which his primary speech community will demand communication, is an illustration of experience and language serving as both cause and result. In studying the failure of some students to learn written language, Blank (1968) found that this failure was clearly associated with oral language problems. She wrote about a replication study in which

> . . . the correlation between an auditory discrimination task and reading performance did not appear to reflect auditory deficiencies per se. Rather it reflected the deficiencies of retarded reader's experience in seemingly simple cognitive demands imposed by the task (i.e. the ability to listen to a sequence, retain the sequence so as to judge one stimulus against the other, and then to make a judgment as to their similarities and differences). (Williams, 1970, 67-68)

In studies by Horn (1966) and Ayers and Mason (1969) science content was used to help children increase their perceptual awareness—a beginning step in resolving this perceptual deficit considered by some to be the basis of language deficiency (Williams, 1970, 67). This approach has been severely criticized as being uninteresting to children (Feeley, 1970). The science materials of *Science—A Process Approach* illustrate the use of science-based content to assist children in acquiring cognitive skills of sequencing, distinguishing similarities and differences, separating inferred causes from the evidence of the event, and searching for other patterns by which to classify or group things and then to deal with the abstracted common element. All these experiences were designed to occur within a context to encourage the demand of the child's primary speech community—his first hand environment. This was done by providing various experiences before the labels were given for those experiences. Horn and the Ayers and Mason studies both illustrate the effectiveness of experience in science being utilized to assist children in language acquisition, or as one child is quoted as saying, "Boy, when I have something to tell, I can sure tell a good story."

One reason for success in these situations has been identified by Plumer (1970):

> The most prominent theme running through all the literature on language development is that children learn language through verbal interaction with more mature speakers. They learn language by using it. This does not mean simply listening to more mature speakers—otherwise poor children who have attended school regularly and listened to television more than middle-class children would be on a par with their middle-class counterparts. (1970, 300-301)

Plumer continues that language acquisition should be based on children having many opportunities to talk in school and that this talking should be frequent, structured, systematic, and sprinkled with humor.

Content: Means or Ends?

Illustrations of this viewpoint are to be found scattered through the literature in the ERIC system. Gotkin (1967) reports the use of matrix games as a successful tool to help preschool and kindergarten children discriminate symbols, pictures, and colors. Shapes and configurations of the letters are also part of children's experience through use of a grooved alphabet board.

In describing a language experience approach, Van Allen (1969) stated that through experience a child comes to feel that he can communicate in ways other than verbal language. Practice in oral communication he found to be useful in changing the child's concept of how helpful it is to talk. Ayers and Mason (1969) report the use of science experience with young children:

> *Science—A Process Approach* encompasses more than a conventional science program . . . A child who has completed Part A of the program will have come into contact with a number of situations which will compel him to observe, measure, use space/time relations and numbers. It appears that his language skills should increase with his communication of his experiences. He should be able to identify properties of an object, recognize numbers, count to 11, classify spatial relations in terms of directions and objects on the basis of what they do and how they are used, tell time to the hour, read a calendar, etc. (1969, 435)

They concluded that science, in discrimination, categorization, and labeling tasks, can be used to help children's reading readiness skills such as numbers, listening, and copying subtasks.

With preschoolers, the Early Childhood Project of New York City (American Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, 1969) used a vertically organized program in mathematics and science along with creative dramatics to help children's oral language skills. Specific activities involving parents and small group work were identified as significant aspects of this program.

With two-to-five-year-old culturally deprived children in Tennessee, McConnell (1969) used a variety of sensory-perceptual training experiences with science and mathematics concepts related to size, color, number form and position, and figure-ground discrimination. Students in the study demonstrated sensory-perceptual and linguistic gains.

In their description of experiences for migrant children, a Texas Education Agency report (1968) includes specific experiences from mathematics, art, music, science, and the cultural world of the child as sources for children's oral language experiences. Arnold (1968) reports the second year findings of Horn's oral-aural program in San Antonio, Texas, with Spanish-speaking children. Science experiences based on modifications of *Science—A Process Approach* were used in this study as the substance of the children's conversation. Science reading materials were used in grades two through six in a study reported by Irwin (1969). She described how oral reading of science materials was useful in identifying language problems of Canadian Indian children.

The reported use of science and mathematics concepts as a base of experience and oral language has been limited to students with culturally different backgrounds in early childhood classrooms. Consistently its use has been reported as successful. Similar uses might well be explored with more typical students both in primary and upper levels.

Engel (1966) described language experience based on art, cooking, dramatic play, music, science, water play, and story time as effective ways to improve the oral language of preschoolers. In grades three through six, Fichtenau (1968) used specific instruction in grammar as a way of increasing oral language ability. His results indicated that teaching specific skills in analysis of written composition resulted in improved oral communication of both boys and girls. Using poetry, story telling, and creative dramatics, Henry (1967) described the importance of creativity in oral communication for intermediate age children. Glaus (1965) used children's books and poetry to extend intermediate age children's awareness and use of oral language.

At grade nine, the Oral-Aural Program of Indianapolis, Indiana, uses literature topics to help students communicate their feelings. Smiley (1968) also describes the use of literature related to the lives of seventh- to ninth-grade students as a means for involving them in language activities related to their concerns.

A study involving college students was reported at Gustavus Adolphus College. Alexis (1968) reported the use of these assignments to help students increase their oral language communication skills. Students were asked to (1) think through the meaning of the word for a week and write definitions and associations, (2) consult dictionaries to differentiate connotative and denotative definitions, (3) collect definitions and usages from their peers, (4) consider possible bases for definition classification, (5) trace the word in the *New English Dictionary*, and (6) compile citations of uses of the word encountered in print. An alternative assignment was a historical survey using six versions of the Bible to trace a given passage. One nonhistorical approach involved an analysis of words used in advertisements. In other instances, studying the origins of place names led to the compilation of linguistic atlases, and an essay assignment encouraged students to project generalizations about language after reading local-color fiction. The limited and frequently erroneous conclusions which resulted became the basis for further discussions.

Using literature and related experience as a means to help students express what was important to them is a common element of these reports of using literature in oral language. An extension of this is to use student-created literature. Such content of oral language is usually found to be closely related to the student's living experience and hence real in its motivating value.

Two reports, Perine (1967) and Lohmann (1967), described children dictating compositions as a way to build both communication skills and listening skills.

Other studies described use of home or social settings of Navajo Indian children (Shiprock Independent School District No. 22, 1968), and sensory experience and trips for disadvantaged Spanish-American children (Hobson, 1968) and disadvantaged Negro children (Leaverton, 1968). In each of these programs involving preschoolers or primary-grade children, the child's conversation was the basis for analysis of both what he said and what he intended to say. Acquiring clearer ways to communicate ideas was a common outcome for these studies.

A cautionary note needs to be stated here. Plumer (1970) describes the limits of how much one can expect from school experience.

> Schools . . . are at a disadvantage when attempting to supplement or enrich a child's home experience. If the school is to offset any disadvantage, ... it must concentrate on providing for his language development not in just a single class but throughout the day. . . .Every class or activity must develop the child's language ability in some way. (1970, 301)

Teachers: Means or Ends?

A second major question of this report

is the extent to which the teacher is a means or an end in language acquisition. Williams (1970) stated this concern:

> We must develop new strategies for language instruction. . . .new programs. . . .attempt to incorporate the social context into the instructional context. Such programs would be different for different groups of children and this imposes special demands upon teachers who should probably be as knowledgeable of the children's vernacular (or that of his environment) as they are of standard English. (1970, vi)

Careful analysis of the ERIC literature on the acquisition of oral language for children who speak nonstandard English suggests that the search for making language acquisition of the child meaningful and successful has primarily focused on program development. Analysis of the acquisition of language suggests that there are more than the components of the child and program, however. Previous experiences of both the child and the teacher are brought into the learning situation. To what extent these may be similar or different, and to what extent they are employed by both the child and the teacher as expectancy settings, has been the object of study. A second point about learning is relevant. The inner core of this experience is the personal interaction. At this level people are talking and listening to other people (children are legitimately classified as people). To what extent is it true that teachers of different backgrounds are unable to relate to, to hear, or to attend to that which children are saying or doing? To what extent are children of contrasting language or behavioral patterns able to relate to the teacher's behavior in a meaningful way? To what extent is or should this be of concern in the acquisition of oral language? What evidence exists that the teacher as a factor in the encounter has been given more than passing cranial nodding recognition? For example, extending the focus more directly on the teacher, what assistance is he given in understanding the relationship between his previous achievement, background, and the like, and the probable success of the learning experiences of his pupils? In what way is a teacher provided with guides for hearing, comprehending and communicating with children in the classroom? Where does the teacher have the opportunity to review the implications of sociolinguistic research such as Labov (1970)? This research has found evidence to support the hypothesis that linguistic variations are identifiable with social stratification, ethnic, and situational differences in speech. When does a teacher find the opportunity and assistance needed to understand a child's language, previous experience, and blocks to learning? To perceive cues from the environment, diagnostic tools for the teacher are essential—but from where will these tools come? If language acquisition is really an individual interaction between teacher and student, what evidence can we find that teachers perceive it as a diagnosis of individual need of the child and the selective use of approaches suited to a child's need rather than a stated curriculum or program?

From these questions grows a more important concern. A colloquial expression says it well, "You can't come back from where you haven't been." Where in the teacher's own preparation program has he experienced a diagnostic and individualized approach to learning experiences? In the professional teacher-education program, what model of teacher-student interaction has he experienced?

Language acquisition includes more than creative programs for individual children for unique or enriching experiences. It must have the intelligent guidance of an insightful teacher. The professional preparation of the teacher has been suggested as a significant means—and one which needs intensive study equal to that of the development of programs for language acquisition.

Summary

Our challenge today is to stand on the shoulders of yesterday's experience. We know much about the task of oral language acquisition. While we have been concerned with the mechanics of this process—especially teaching the child to discriminate detail in sound and structure, have we missed teaching the child to discriminate ideas in his language? This assumes that his oral language practice contains ideas that can be discriminated—an assumption that must be seriously questioned.

Remedial oral language development with students has been shown to be highly successful when the substantive ideas of the communication have been chosen from direct experience subject content areas such as science, mathematics, or literature. Williams (1969) provides a sobering concluding thought:

> Early attention to perceptual confusion could be minimized by appropriate training techniques introduced in the beginning stages . . . which will call for less necessity later for remedial [work]. (1969, 501)

Can we afford the luxury of oral language programs that show a high probability of resulting in students requiring remedial attention in their later school years?

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Oral Language Instruction and the Development of Cognitive Skills: Some Perspectives*

Can English as a second language (ESL) programs lacking in content and development of cognitive skills succeed? The phrasing of the question obviously expects the answer "no," that ESL programs lacking in content and skill development must be considered failures. This paper will examine components of the question in the light of ERIC documents and other publications. Closer examination of the question will reveal that initial ESL programs successfully pursued a central goal of language development only. Cognitive skill and content development were incidental. With the development of programs that successfully attack the language problem, focus is now being placed more and more upon such curricular problems as lagging achievement in science, social studies, and math. Time spent upon the development of English language skills, important as they are, has not been available for study of these content areas. ESL has made and is making progress, and it is this very progress that enables educators to expect more and more. The points which appear essential to a discussion of the question are

1. program structure (linguistic and/or conceptual focus);
2. cognitive development (the relation of cognitive skills and concept development); and
3. factors determining success, e.g., objectives, measurement instruments, and persons making the evaluation.

Before discussing the content of ESL programs, it is worthwhile to consider the problems of children for whom ESL programs have been developed. Stemmler (1966) provides a profile of the impressions one population of children made upon her. In the time since this profile was written, new insights have been gained. Program developers are increasingly noting that apparent shortcomings of the children, such as minimal attention span, are proving instead to be a function of inappropriate class activities. The sketch does provide a background for viewing earlier ESL programs.

Without preschool language instruction, sixty to eighty percent of the Mexican-American children in Texas were failing the primary grades. Reading difficulties were the primary cause. Stemmler felt that these children had two handicaps to overcome: a language barrier and a "disadvantagedness barrier" (1966, 2). Her picture of these disadvantaged children included the following points:

1. a minimal attention span;
2. minimal development of auditory and visual discrimination;

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3. minimal experiential background for the type of content appearing in the tests and beginning instructional materials;
4. lack of variety and information even in their native language [Spanish] on such topics as their own families and names—some of them did not even know their surnames;
5. fear, apathy, or insensitivity toward the school environment—their powers of abstraction seemed curiously dulled or, perhaps, undeveloped;
6. general inadequacy in such simple cognitive abilities as *simple* direction—following, labelling, classifying, and visual discrimination of gross differences among objects—even when spoken to in Spanish; and
7. marked nutritional deficiencies (1966, 2).

Program Structure

For children who do not know English, the typical language of school, and who may have several other severe handicaps in addition, it is little wonder that educators saw the need for appropriate language programs. The resulting programs, with good reason, strived for linguistic success.

Thomas and Allen's *Oral English* suggests some objectives that appear quite appropriate for these children:

1. to help the pupil communicate in English in the school environment;
2. to help the pupil hear and pronounce the sounds of the English language;
3. to help the pupil acquire automatic use of English language patterns;
4. to help the pupil become familiar with the language patterns and vocabulary that he will encounter in the pre-primer and primer; and
5. to help the pupil learn about the English-speaking culture while maintaining appreciation of his own culture (1968, 3).

These objectives communicate the basic intent of many ESL programs. They indicate endeavors toward teaching crucial linguistic skills, frequently using techniques of the audio-lingual method whose popularity was spread by Brooks (1960). The linguistic emphasis of ESL programs is a logical, sensible one; linguistic skills are essentially content free. Content is used here to refer to the subject matter rather than to the linguistic vehicle. The teacher can relate other areas of the curriculum to the ESL component, but it is not necessary for the successful achievement of linguistic goals, previously the chief focus of ESL programs. With a limited amount of class time available, any time spent developing ESL skills reduces the time available for other curricular areas.

Finocchiaro identified four trends for bilingual education, one of which is especially relevant here:

> . . . the teaching of curriculum areas such as science, social studies and mathematics in the native tongue so that non-English speaking pupils—upon entering the mainstream of the school—will not lag behind their age peers (1969, 6).

Thus, the solution of the *initial* problem of language does not resolve the serious problem of achieving success in the "mainstream of school."

Increasing numbers of ERIC reports reveal a growing concern with teaching the non-English speaker English language skills *and* content from other areas of the curriculum. In other words, goals have been modified to accomplish broader objectives at the same time that linguistic objectives are being sought. The success of ESL programs in the past has typically been measured by linguistic yardsticks. If the child develops phonological and syntactical skills, the ESL program is judged a success. Recently, however (Stemmler, 1966; Taylor, 1969; Wilson, 1970), ESL materials have been developed which deliberately try to weave math, social studies, and science into their curricular "threads." (Tyler, 1950, 56) There are several risks, naturally, when one sets one's sights on dual objectives. One would expect that success would be achieved only if both language and content objectives are achieved. Does failure in one mean failure of the program?

One alternative to dual objectives is to allow the children to fall behind, in curricular areas, those children whose native language is English. With dual objectives, one is forced to develop activities which ideally meet both criteria of language and content. If the program developer strives to develop mastery of science content, the language objective may be met unwisely by contriving sentences. If teachers contrive and force the children to parrot mechanical sentences, ostensibly to move them toward mastery of conceptual content, the classroom will lose the aura of excitement inherent in learning.

Wilson (1970) discussed the transition of ESL programs from language only to a broader curricular base. He said "TESL [Teaching English as a Second Language] programs have generally confined themselves to the teaching of communication." (p. 2) It is interesting to note that the materials which Wilson co-authored with Olsher in 1967 convey this language-only objective:

> By associating the sounds and rhythm of English with a captivating story, the child is led to transfer the oral component of English he has learned to the role he plays in the dramatization of the story in class, and hopefully to the real-life roles he plays as a [new-language] speaker of English (Olsher and Wilson, 1967, 1).

The Olsher and Wilson materials reflect a definite concern for providing interesting activities the child will enjoy. It is equally apparent that they are intended to be used as a means to help children learn English who are attending schools without ESL *programs*. One can contrast the differences between an ESL program and ESL instructional materials by definition:

> *ESL instructional materials*—materials designed to accomplish the distinct instructional task of helping students learn English, considered as a segment of the curriculum.
>
> *ESL programs*—curricular approaches which consider, influence, and are influenced by all other educational experiences offered by the school. These threads and strands are implemented with the help of ESL instructional materials.

Considerable numbers of well thought-out and potentially successful ESL instructional materials are now available. In ERIC there also are an increasing number of ESL programs. In relation to the initial question, it warrants reiteration that ESL instructional materials are intended to accomplish linguistic goals, whereas an ESL program frequently attempts to teach the children linguistic skills *and* conceptual content. Three years after the publication of the 1967 materials, Wilson revealed his concern for broader ESL objectives. In contrast to TESL instructional efforts:

> *Curriculum*, on the other hand, makes one of its major objectives the development of *thinking*. It is this disparity between the objective of TESL and the objective of curriculum that has made TESL a four-letter word among many educators (1970, 2).

Wilson feels that children need to learn to think in those areas that later will be taught and learned in English. He states that fluency in language does not bring with it *per se* the ability to think in the language (1970, 3). Taylor (1969) described the efforts to integrate linguistic skills with cognitive growth using American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) materials. The more ambitious the ESL program, the greater the risk of failure. It is patently difficult to devise ESL teaching activities and instructional materials the children will enjoy. When one attempts to devise techniques and materials with science content, there is great risk that the classroom activities will not elicit the interest of young children. Obviously, great effort went into the materials described by Taylor. However, if one must teach the concept of *shape* and teach phonological and syntactical skills, the ultimate emerging classroom activity will *probably* be less interesting to the children than if that constraint were not present. Consequently, ESL programs are encountering and will encounter developmental growing pains.

In Lindfors' review of the Michigan Oral Language Materials, she identified some of the difficulties which arise when a program seeks to attain linguistic and content (other than linguistic) success. Although her review of these materials is quite favorable and recognizes the intent of the program to include material from several content areas (social studies, math, and science), according to her, "justice is not done to any one of these content areas, nor to their integration, one with another" (1970, 57).

The problem would appear to be less critical in preschool and kindergarten than in primary levels where the linguistically different child is directly compared to native English-speaking children. In her discussion concerning the selection of content for the primary-one program of the Michigan Materials, Lindfors says,

> . . . it is a concern for conceptual development that is basic in the selection of content; the main purpose is not to teach the English language systematically, but rather to teach concepts and the expression of them, trying to hit the language "trouble spots" as you go (1970, 40).

She sharply criticizes the ambitious goals of the primary-one Michigan program and states that the five-way focus of this program (linguistic, conceptual, math, science, social studies) attempts to accomplish too much, and actually accomplishes too little (p. 43). She also criticizes program activities in which each lesson focuses on one subject matter area, perhaps social studies, with the next on math, without effective "interdisciplinary integration" (p. 43). She suggests lessons which would periodically integrate across content areas, in which concepts and/or processes from different content areas were used simultaneously (pp. 9, 43).

Lindfors states that the three "inputs" are social studies, math, and science (the content areas) whereas the linguistic and conceptual contributions are the "tools" for dealing with the content areas. Her main point is that the linguistic and conceptual focus is not followed logically. Rather than a guiding principle of identifying basic concepts and processes of science, social studies, and math for content selection, she suggests that in practice the principle was "what lessons can we think of that will include some science, social science, and math?" (p. 45) In her criticism of "empty repetition of meaningless phrases," (p. 54) she apparently feels that, for example, the lexical item *together* forced the contriving of dialog with the item.

The point germane here is that, as one attempts to accomplish a goal broader than the one of linguistic skills, difficult enough by itself, one becomes vulnerable to failure if activities are contrived so as to result in "empty repetition of meaningless phrases." Again, only by attempting this very difficult task can one hope to eventually improve the program and ultimately meet success. Program development requires fantastic amounts of time and skill to the point that there is the real risk of too much criticism or not enough. Too much criticism will impede ambitious efforts which ultimately may prove successful. No criticism will result in the creation of beautiful monsters or the emperor wearing beautiful clothes.

The preschool and primary-one Michigan oral language program attempts, according to Lindfors, to develop a conceptual focus and a verbal focus. Lindfors interprets the conceptual focus as "content to be presented" and the linguistic focus as the "new language forms to be used" (p. 9). Lindfors feels that the task of teaching basic concepts is the main purpose of the program—not revealing the basic structure of English. This priority can lead to "mechanical questions." Growth in basic concepts appears intimately related to cognitive skill development.

Cognitive Development

The question of to what extent language is a cognitive skill is both an intriguing and exasperating issue which may be answered in different ways. The discussion can range from attention to the purely mechanical aspects of language to rather abstract processes. It will be shown that language has been treated as a non-cognitive process, reflecting the early interpretations of the audio-lingual approach widely used on the secondary level to teach second language skills.

Recently the nature of language teaching has been re-evaluated. However, Brooks, influenced by Skinner's accomplishments, rather categorically rejected a cognitive approach to language learning when he wrote:

> *The single paramount fact about language learning is that it concerns, not problem solving, but the formation and performance of habits.* The learner who has only been made to see how language works has not learned any language; on the contrary he has learned something he will have to forget before he can make any progress in that area of language (1960, 46).

What Brooks was striving to overcome was the tendency of earlier grammar-translation methods to be more concerned with cognitive understandings than language production. Although his influence as a proponent of the audio-lingual method is still felt, the current approach, even in the audio-lingual method, considers two levels of language. Rivers (1964) discusses a mechanical level "one" which she believes can be rather nicely explained by a behavioristic paradigm. Bordie (1970) also uses the term "mechanical level," but he means skills of minor importance such as punctuation and spelling. He refers to the opposite level of the continuum as "the most abstract cognitive abilities" (1970, 818). Rivers describes the higher level as the level of "fluent expression," the communication of one's own ideas (1964, 156).

Rivers' level one appears rather far removed from the realm of cognition, if one excludes from the cognitive domain "a set of habits which must be learned to a point of automatic performance of the sequence" (1969, 4). Rivers is, of course, referring only to her level one. That level one should *not* be considered cognition becomes somewhat more acceptable if one considers another comment of Brooks:

> As we have seen, *the acquisition of non-thoughtful responses is the very core of successful language learning*, and Congress itself has pronounced such learning to be in our national interest (1960, 60).

It is important to remember that Brooks was trying to draw guidelines for secondary foreign language teachers to guide them in teaching oral language skills. For most of these teachers, the audio-lingual method represented a great change from the methodology they had been using. Their students often studied about the language and failed to develop a reasonable proficiency in using the language. Rivers does not reject level one; she points out the limitations of a level one approach only.

In writing of the relation of habit and competence Di Pietro writes:

> What has habit to do with competence, we may ask. First of all habit is a conditioning of reflexes leading to automatic and *predictable* [emphasis added] responses to stimuli. For some time, it was fashionable to view language and learning as habit formation. As a result, a very great part of the exercises and drills of our modern instructional strategies is built upon this psychological concept (Di Pietro, 1970, 57).

Di Pietro sees skills developed through pattern practice and other types of manipulative, habit-forming drills as "useful" in language learning, but not as proven "necessary adjuncts" to the interpretation of competence as a set of rules (p. 62). A key point in identifying habit formation and level one responses is the notion that such responses are predictable, or what Bosco (1970, 74) calls responses that can be anticipated. In contrast to habit, Di Pietro discusses a higher linguistic plane which he equates with competence:

> Competence, on the other hand, has to do with a different aspect of language behavior, namely the intellectualization or the cognition of language which underlies habit formation (1970, 57).

Bruner describes cognition as how human beings increase their ability to handle knowledge and to process information (1967, 1). Perhaps there are persons who would maintain that linguistic skills develop apart from intellectual endowment and who would cite as examples persons with retarded mental development who nonetheless manage to speak English fluently. Cognitive skills do *operate* in learning English as a second language or dialect, but cognitive skill development also refers to those cognitive skills apart from linguistic ones whose development is sought by elementary school educators. Language skills appear interwoven with intellectual activities, but it is more fruitful to treat language skills as a *manifestation* of intelligence rather than an *aspect* of intelligence.

As Brooks initially described habit formation as a non-thoughtful response, it is unlikely that he assumed that cognition was necessary or even helpful in habit formation. It appears that Di Pietro supports the idea that there is more than one aspect or level to language learning and that cognition more appropriately goes with the higher linguistic plane. In the early ESL programs which followed Brooks' advice, it would appear that their activities strived toward the development of overt, non-cognitive skills.

Verplanck (1964) examined the concept of awareness in an attempt to discover the relation of awareness and actual behavior. In an experiment in verbal conditioning, he found a rather remarkable lack of consistency between what people said was the rule and what they actually did, presumably following that rule in a concept-formation task. In other words, they would say one thing but perform in the opposite way. Verplanck concluded that awareness of the concept by no means ensured that appropriate behavior would follow.

Characteristics of language levels one and two

One area of linguistic skill falls into the category of habit; the other refers to or involves higher cognitive skills. What are the characteristics of each level?

Level 1	*Level 2*
1. no awareness, facile—directed conscious effort not required	1. awareness and directed effort required (non-facile)

2. verbal response predictable or anticipated	2. non-predictable
3. non-conscious	3. conscious
4. follows Skinnerian paradigm – stimulus controlled	4. stimulus free

The second language level and awareness

In the *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain,* Bloom examines the facets of cognition and surfaces the same intriguing point. In the process of identifying the various "levels" of cognition which range from simple recall of facts through comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, Bloom identified an additional dimension.

> One of the major threads running through all the taxonomy appears to be a scale of consciousness or awareness. Thus, the behaviors in the cognitive domain are largely characterized by a rather high degree of consciousness on the part of the individual exhibiting the behavior while the behaviors in the affective domain are much more frequently exhibited with a low level of awareness on the part of the individual. Further, in the cognitive domain especially, it appears that as the behaviors become more complex the individual is more aware of their existence (Bloom, 1956, 19).

The notion of awareness is directly relevant to the second level of language learning. A high degree of awareness appears in level two in that one's thought is being directed with attention, contrasted with the automatic response of level one. Unfortunately, one can make a superficial evaluation of the merit of the two levels, scorning the "lower" level and valuing the higher. However, the same intellectual activity need not always operate on the same level. As skills increase, operations which once required awareness and effort can be mastered to the point that one's response is automatic or level one. Bloom touches upon this point:

> One might hope that it [the level of consciousness] would provide the basis for explaining why behaviors which are initially displayed with a high level of consciousness become, after some time and repetition, automatic or are accompanied by a low level of consciousness. . . . Perhaps it will also help to explain the extraordinary retention of some learning—especially of the psychomotor skills (1956, 20).

Asher (1969) has found rather good luck in second language learning by involving psychomotor activities and skills. Retention seems to be extraordinarily good. An example or two might clarify the role of awareness in language skills. The use of the subjunctive in Spanish is adequately challenging. Initially and depending upon the method, deliberate thought is required to identify those situations in which its use is appropriate, particularly in language responses not learned rotely. With increase in skill and when measured by the criteria of effort and awareness, this activity moves from level two and now appears to take place in level one almost intuitively. Or, in learning to type, deliberate attention must be given to striking the right keys. With the development of skill, one can reach the point where he can express his thoughts through typewriting, attending to what it is he wishes to say rather than to the mechanical means of transcribing it.

Two points are relevant. First, language level one is far removed from cognition interpreted as conscious thought. Second, very complex intellectual activities appear to take place with a high degree of initial awareness and effort. As they are thoroughly mastered, they move into level one when judged by the two criteria of effort and awareness. This is not to say that a simple habit response is qualitatively the same as a sophisticated linguistic expression—only that the two responses are both effortless and require no conscious structuring.

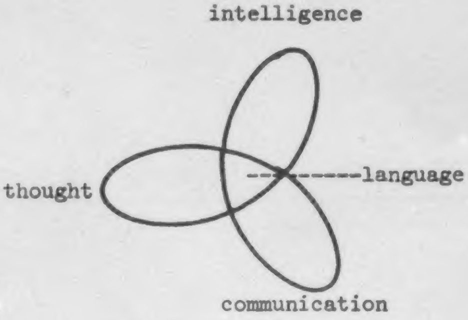
Level one activities of automatic response meet the criteria of minimal effort and awareness. Rivers (1964) pointed out the need to develop the ability to express one's own thoughts in what she refers to as level two. With the development of great skill, it was pointed out that free expression can, in a sense, return to level one if only the criteria of minimal effort and minimal awareness are used. Subtle, important differences remain between verbal activities which meet both criteria. The simple, automatic response probably never called for higher cognitive skills, initially or subsequently. Expression of one's own ideas reached the effortless plateau only after intensive, diligent effort. Although all behaviors in level one are alike in the two respects, they may be remarkably different qualitatively. Level one reflects facility gained through practice. Level two involves complex cognitive skills, sustained effort *and* practice. For the sake of convenience, they may be viewed as occupying the same area only if one recognizes implicit differences.

At first, area one appears not to include cognition as a conscious thought. Language skills in area one *may* represent rather mediocre activities such as parroting or mimicking, or they may represent highly skilled linguistic activities. Ultimately, linguistic skills should operate in area one except when the person chooses to move the verbal activity to area two—deliberate, conscious thought. For example, he might wish to structure his thoughts with deliberate care and special precision. But if an ESL program operates initially in area one, never or rarely helping students operate in area two with the ultimate goal of effortless expression, it cannot be judged successful because the children will not be competent in expressing their own ideas. The danger that this will occur is ever present because, in teaching linguistically different children, the immediate problem in the teacher's perception is one of oral language. Drills in area one offer immediate success, if of limited value.

Thought and intelligence and communication

The question of to what extent language is a cognitive skill may be answered in different ways as just shown. Attention may focus upon purely mechanical aspects of a language or rather abstract cognitive processes. However, even in these abstract processes, language appears to involve higher levels of cognition rather than to constitute an intellectual skill by itself. Bruner (1967, 155) discusses language as an instrument for ordering perception and thought. Intelligence tests often are heavily loaded with vocabulary items, one of the closest links between the measurement of intelligence and language skills.

Language provides an interface of thought and intelligence and communication. The idea can be expressed graphically:



No implication is intended that the three aspects of the paradigm (thought, intelligence, and communication) are parallel. They are not. Each is different in many respects from the other two. However, they do have a common ground in that language is a communication tool, a tool of thought, and an instrument of intelligence. It may be helpful to examine language and non-language examples of human behavior which appear to function in area one and area two using the criteria previously given.

When one comes to work in the morning, the typical greeting heard is "Good morning. How are you?" To which one responds with idiosyncratic variations, "Fine, thank you." Especially in the early morning, the response is automatic, requiring either no or minimal awareness or conscious effort. One's friends can predict what we will say. Consider, however, a response different from the automatic "Fine, thank you." A different response requires awareness of what one is saying, is not predictable nor expected. It is virtually free of stimulus control. ESL students probably find it helpful to initially learn a standard response because they can learn it very quickly and it will be most useful. However, the same situation can result in a response of a much different nature.

The relation of the two levels, or more appropriately two areas, of linguistic skills can be illustrated by a non-language example. Driving a car provides a realistic though risky example. Driving in the country on a bright sunny day requires a minimum of conscious effort, assuming no other traffic. In this situation one's mind might wander. One might even risk being "absent minded." Steering and control of the car receive minimal awareness; hopefully the progress of the car down the highway is predictable. Contrast this situation with driving in congested, downtown traffic late in the afternoon. Now, a high degree of awareness is demanded with instant response to unpredictable stops and starts demanding full conscious effort. There would appear to be a correspondence between driving and the use of language. Behavior of the first level is effortless and automatic. In the second level, it is deliberate and controlled. The essential point is that human behavior, overtly the same human behavior, may actually be operating in either area under varying conditions.

An ESL program for very young children may of necessity focus upon skills falling in area one. To the extent that these behaviors are automatic, they cannot be classified as cognitive. A young child fortunate enough to grow up with parents who speak socially unmarked language *and* who attends a school with similarly fortunate children, will probably speak an unmarked language without needing awareness of the rules of that language.

Success

Achievement of success for ESL programs depends upon four factors:

1. the definition of content and cognitive skills;
2. the objectives of the program;
3. the criteria and instrumentation used to ascertain attainment of a satisfactory level of performance; and, equally important,
4. the person(s) asked to decide if the program achieved "success."

In the literature, *content* is used with apparently two distinct meanings. For example, in relation to ESL programs one can discuss content either as referring to language content or non-language content. The content of the original materials used in San Antonio was often science content expressed in either Spanish or English (Taylor, 1969). One might use the word *content* to refer to the study of language itself. Seemingly facetious, this discussion of whether language itself is the objective or if it is the vehicle to discuss science content, or social studies content, or the notion of self-concept, does reveal one's value and priorities. Does one achieve success only if one reaches a certain level in two objectives, *both* curricular areas *and* language skills? It would appear that where the objective of the program is to develop linguistic skills (inherent in the name ESL), success can be achieved without the mastery of conceptual content considered highly desirable but not of critical importance.

The stated objectives of the program, to a great extent, thus determine whether success has been achieved. Implicit in the objectives are criteria for their evaluation. An ESL objective need not specify curricular content. If objectives do include mastery of curricular content, then obviously success cannot be achieved without content mastery. However, those ESL programs initially designed to help linguistically different children develop English language skills did not make their success contingent upon content mastery.

Achievement of success will depend upon the person asked whether the ESL program has been successful. The persons most concerned include the classroom teacher, the parents, teachers in the middle school, and the children participating in the program. The teacher's opinion will, in turn, be influenced by his superior's opinion, the students' success in language skills and related academic progress, and the enthusiasm or lack of it shown by the children. The parents' opinion will probably differ from the teachers' because they are not directly involved in the instructional process, and because their measurement of the program will probably be most greatly influenced by the oral language development, assuming they have some English language skills.

There is little evidence in the research that ESL programs are ever evaluated by the children. Yet it would seem that the students' perception of both their success in the program and the importance of what they learned are quite important considerations. A crucial test of success for any ESL program will be the linguistic facility its students display in subsequent formal school programs if there is no continuing ESL program, either by design or necessity. The success or failure of ESL students, especially in classes with native speakers of English, will determine the label of ESL success or failure by staff and students.

Success via ESL tests

Eager to know if one had achieved success, one might select an appropriate test as a measure. In regard to ESL programs, tests are typically selected to measure only linguistic skill or improvement, such as the repetition portion of the Gloria and David oral language test (1958). Yet the initial question raised the point of content mastery and cognitive growth. What kind of instrument can be used to measure language skills, cognitive skill development, and content mastery? Bordie (1970) made a rather comprehensive review of ESL tests and found again and again that available tests lacked perfection even in measuring only language skills for the linguistically different learner. Although not impossible, it is still difficult to obtain a good sample of a child's language, to diagnose his shortcomings, and to prescribe appropriate measures. Oral language tests still tend to require large amounts of time and sometimes yield results of limited value. Perhaps retaining a degree of skepticism is a rather healthy thing for the sake of the children involved.

Of those tests which attempt to measure more than one of the three aspects—linguistic skills, content, and cognitive growth —the *Frostig Developmental Test of Visual Perception* and the *Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability* may serve as examples.

Of the Frostig test, Bordie writes (1970, 820) that this test is primarily designed for use with handicapped children, such as aphasics and emotionally disturbed children. He feels there are language problems and cultural problems not accounted for in the scoring. Of the Illinois test, which he found to be the most commonly used test in the research he explored, he wrote that it is designed to measure different facets of cognitive ability, such as visual sequential memory, visual closure, and so on (p. 820). He comments that one criticism that teachers made was the lack of verbal expression called for. Bordie states that there are only four items of a total of 346 used to diagnose verbal expression (p. 820). If one's purpose is to measure three aspects (linguistic skills, content, and cognitive growth) implicit in the question, there appears to be no test available that would measure such development.

In measuring student learning, two approaches seem appropriate for the linguistically different. One approach measures the *progress* of the students in one or more of the three aspects. If the students make a consistent and rather rapid progress, the program could be judged successful. One might use a different criterion, the criterion that the world rather intuitively uses. How do these children compare after ESL experiences with children who are not linguistically different?

Such a comparison is not fair, but it would be naive to suppose that this test is not going to be put to these disadvantaged children by parents, teachers, and even by the children themselves. Given an adequate self-concept, one can live a happy life though speaking nonstandard language or dialect, though making slower progress through school, and even though making slower growth intellectually. For these reasons, there has been a rather concerted effort to strengthen self-concepts as one means of attacking the problem. Such an effort is a healthy sign if it indicates acceptance of the notion that the essential purpose underlying ESL programs is to help them achieve "a good life," not to make a minority like the majority. There appears to be consensus that the ability to speak standard English and achieve academic success will facilitate achieving subsequent happiness.

There may be a bright light on the horizon of measuring the success of ESL programs involving the areas of content learning and the development of cognitive skills. As part of the Michigan Oral Language Materials, a *Conceptual Oral Language Test* (COLT) was developed which suggests a new and novel approach in testing. By its nature, it sheds light on language and/or content of ESL program.

> The COLT was designed to assess the pupil's ability to solve problems and think in terms of basic concepts in math, science, and social studies. The pupil indicates his answers in two ways: a) non-verbally, by pointing to the picture of his choice; and, b) verbally, by explaining his answer in standard English. Thus, a measure of the pupil's understanding is obtained which is relatively free from the effects of dialect or language differences from the examiner. At the same time, the discrepancy between the non-verbal and verbal score indicates the degree of the pupil's handicap in oral production of standard English (1969, 1).

This test, first, is intended to measure the child's mastery of content in the areas of math, science, and social studies. Second, it measures his cognitive skill development in differentiation, classification, seriation, and analogy. Third, it is designed to enable the child to respond first non-verbally. Then it elicits a verbal response based upon the initial, non-verbal response.

Lindfors (1970) describes the four sections, or "formats," of COLT. Each assesses one cognitive skill or process. For example, in the first format the child selects the one picture of four which does not belong (differentiation). In the second format, he selects one picture of four that "goes with" another picture (classification). In the third format, he selects the correct picture from three to complete a four-picture series (seriation). Finally, in the fourth format he selects the one picture of three that completes a pair analogous to a given pair (analogy) (p. 64). Of the fifteen items comprising each format, two are demonstration or practice items, three are math items (e.g., number sets, number series, addition and subtraction, proportions), five are science items (e.g., size and shape, spatial dimension of distance, direction, position, temporal-spatial relations), and five are social studies items (e.g., personal-social relations involving characteristics like age and sex, social roles like teacher or mailman, and resources like home, school, and community) (p. 65).

Each verbal response is evaluated according to the two criteria of concept level and language level. Even with the shortcomings inherent in pooling scores representative of different skills and rewarding concepts chosen for abstractness rather than appropriateness, COLT does attempt to provide information concerning the child's cognitive development and content mastery. COLT offers a novel and potentially fruitful new attack on the evaluation of intellectual and content development.

Attempts to measure language skill development in ESL programs are not yet definitive and attempts to measure content mastery have really just begun. Certainly we ought not be satisfied with ESL programs lacking in content and cognitive skill development. However, if measuring instruments are only now appearing which attempt to measure *both* areas, how can one measure the room without an adequate yardstick?

Summary

Initial ESL programs attacked the problem of language differences. Gradual success in improving language skills allowed attention to be drawn to the children's lack of success in non-language "content" subjects, such as science, math, and social studies. Some current approaches teach language skills and attempt to use that language as a vehicle to help children learn about content subjects, and some use content as the vehicle for language development. Essentially, this integrated attack involves a total curricular approach that considers all that the disadvantaged children need to learn. Language objectives are interwoven with science, math, and social studies objectives. Classroom activities involve both language and content objectives, though not necessarily concomitantly. A persistent danger is that activities created to meet one objective (content or language) might be *forced* to meet the other objective when meeting the other objective is not a natural outgrowth of the activity. The danger diminishes as experience is gained with innovative programs that create activities children will enjoy and which prove more fruitful in relation to more ambitious objectives.

Language skill development appears almost inseparably involved in cognitive skill development. Language skills, like other skills, can reach a peak of mastery where language becomes effortless and automatic, bearing a similarity to level one language skills. Achieving success is elusive indeed if one must make real growth in both language and content areas. However, the high risk is essential if "disadvantaged" children are ultimately to compete successfully with native speakers of English.

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Language Tests and Linguistically Different Learners: The Sad State of the Art*

Research

The number of programs to aid students who are linguistically different from the average student has had an extensive and rapid growth in recent years. These programs hope to supply specialized training for such students which will allow them to continue in school at approximately the same pace as the majority of the school population. It has been hoped that by doing so the student will be on an equal footing with his fellows at the termination of his school years and will be able to compete for his place in society with no unusual handicaps. In some instances, students who are representative of the national norm are in the minority and the school program must make provision for their abilities without benefitting these students at the expense of the others.

With the availability of various instructional techniques and methods, our requirements are for tests and other measuring instruments which will allow identification of areas requiring support and subsequent proper placement in appropriate classroom or school groupings. Many techniques in daily use could be more effectively exploited if sufficient accurate information were available to teachers and curriculum planning specialists. In addition to availability, the information should be in a form which may be easily interpreted by all likely users rather than remaining solely in the domain of the test specialist.

Many courses of action suggest themselves. It is possible to establish a single pattern of instruction to which all students must adapt; but too often where such a plan has been established the result is that students adapt to the curriculum without benefitting directly from the subject area content. Other programs suggest highly individualized, highly specialized instruction designed to meet the needs of the individual student. Unfortunately, as evidenced in current practice, this latter course is as wasteful of time and money as the first is of natural talent.

Complicating the problem is the factor of trait visibility. Some student traits are very apparent, *e.g.*, the student who is deaf or blind or who has emotional problems, which we have learned through long experience to handle with some success. Other traits are not so apparent, *e.g.*, the student with a different native language or cultural background or a dialect or socioeconomic class level which is different from the school norm. We have not yet learned how to handle these differences with any degree of

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satisfaction for the benefit of the student or society.

These less visible traits are the ones to which great importance must be attached for they underlie all surface efforts in education. Is this pupil ahead of his peer group because he is naturally intelligent or because his family is wealthy enough to provide him with all of the economic advantages? Is that pupil behind his peer group because he is naturally dull or because he cannot understand the language used in the classroom? Is one student favored because he sounds like the teacher and another student ignored because he uses a different variety of speech? Many tests have been devised in an attempt to answer these questions.

To what extent are these tests useful and what characteristics do they identify of the various linguistically different groups? In the absence of a generally accepted standard of language use to which instructional techniques may relate or which can serve as an effective model, most tests and measuring techniques have been handicapped. How can one measure variance from the norm or those characteristics which define the norm when no two persons agree on what the definition should be? Any standard which has been established has not usually been sufficiently widespread to be useful.

The definition recently stated by an interdisciplinary working committee (22:4) would appear to sidestep many criticisms regarding standard language definitions. It provides a relational model in the language frequently used on network radio-television newscasts. Yet many characteristics of English as spoken by Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Louisiana French-Acadians, and other minority language groups are generally lacking in the group characteristics used as a reference. One has only to recall the speeches of President Kennedy and President Johnson to recognize the limitations of many definitions.

Consider the anecdote of the elderly rancher in Texas who was pleased with President Johnson because "at last he had a President who spoke standard English" in the light of research by McDavid (31) which indicated that both whites and Negroes interpreted Southern speech as being substandard English whether spoken by a middle or low socioeconomic scale speaker. This same research indicated that stress, intonation, and pitch along with all associated paralanguage gestures were more indicative of language ability than any of the other usual language characteristics normally thought significant for measurement, such as syntax, vocabulary, grammar, and so on. Additionally, when Negroes were asked to identify the race of an unseen speaker using either standard or nonstandard language, the users of nonstandard were identified as Negro (3).

How useful are the various techniques and what do they measure? To a considerable degree most predictive measuring techniques conform to an uncertainty principle similar to that used in statistics and physics: one can predict the behavior of a group with fair reliability, but the techniques used for predicting group performance with considerable success may be relatively useless for the prediction of individual behavior, for the individual is not bound by the same sum total of constraints which limit the group.

Prediction of individual behavior is much like the problem of buying a ready-made suit: if you are average, you will be well satisfied; if you are not average, you will have a strange or an awkward fit. A standard of measurement with 90 percent reliability would appear to be very satisfactory for predictive purposes, but the characteristics of the group remaining, usually from the extremes of the range, are very unclear.

It is these groups at the limits of predictive reliability which are of considerable interest at this time. Although it has been demonstrated that grade level and age are highly correlated, r = .98 (21), the remaining percentage of the school population is of sufficient numerical size in the total population to warrant special treatment. They are most commonly those students who are linguistically or culturally different.

There is little question that tests and other measuring techniques are available to measure a wide variety of skills and abilities. One can demonstrate that tests are reliable instruments which measure very accurately and consistently. Yet though these tests are available and the scores which they supply have been standardized for use in a wide variety of situations, one must ask the question along with Page "not whether it measures, for what it measures is very well measured, but whether it is measuring the right thing" (37).

Intelligence tests have recently been withdrawn from use in the school systems of New York City, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, California, because intelligence as measured by current tests is a particular grouping of abilities that has been singled out from the total range of mental abilities required for satisfactory performance in our society. It is entirely possible that the range of abilities which has been singled out is irrelevant to an accurate map of intelligence. Also, to a considerable extent most tests of IQ are loaded with factual material generally known only by certain groups and the scores on the test may be more indicative of teacher or examiner expectations than of individual examinee ability. Recent research indicates that the IQ score (as currently secured) is not predictive of learning ability in students low on the socioeconomic scale although the IQ score may be highly predictive for students from the middle ranges therein (40).

Some varieties of early age tests appear to test different abilities from those abilities measured by tests for older age groups (6:B). Head Start programs appear to be more effective with children with low IQ scores than those with middle IQ scores; this despite the fact that the type of skills emphasized in Head Start programs are supposed to be those skills which the midrange children master and excel in during later school years.

It is possible that maturation rates are different for the various groups and that low IQ scores or low socioeconomic levels are predictive of a faster maturation rate which levels off much sooner than does the slower maturation rate of the middle level child (16;19). The exact implications of this are unclear at the moment for it may be that one variety of test measures ability to learn while another variety measures the amount of actual knowledge.

Most tests measure very many of the same things: language mechanics, *e.g.*, punctuation, spelling, capitalization; formal grammar; recognition of correct form; vocabulary; reading comprehension; usage; parts of speech; sentence types; editorial revision; and recognition of differences in style. Except for oral reading sections in some test batteries, therefore, the tests are printed tests. They can only measure written English and are incapable of measuring oral English.

Most tests also require a "correct" response in answer to a question and assume that the "correct" response is a reflection of standard English. All tests of this sort discriminate against speakers of a second language, speakers of regional dialects, and less verbal lower achievers. To the extent that they confuse written language with oral language or assume that only written language ability is indicative of language ability in general, they will be misleading and useless. Where tests assume that editorial ability is indicative of writing ability, they are presumptuous and limited devices. The ability to handle language cannot be equated with the ability to handle a sample of the language since ability may be partial in parts of the language, complete in some areas, and totally lacking in very many others. A fluent conversationalist is not necessarily a good orator and is even less likely to be a good novelist.

The ability to verbalize responses to questions about language ability is more indicative of the mastery of a formal pattern of language analysis (*e.g.*, knowledge of traditional grammar, ability to comprehend the test, and knowledge of formal descriptive terms) or the degree to which the student's public language corresponds to the formal standard language used in the school. Regardless of geographic area, low socioeconomic level students have a public language which they use at home or at play less like that of the formal language used in the school and in print than is the language of middle socioeconomic level students (30).

When the low socioeconomic student is asked to identify an item as incorrect, it is extremely likely the "incorrect" form is the form he uses in his public speech or which is common in his dialect. When he is asked to restructure a sentence or a paragraph, his lack of contact with a variety of styles puts him at a distinct disadvantage to the middle socioeconomic level student who has read more widely or has traveled a bit throughout the United States (4). If the student speaks a different language, his performance in English will logically be much improved if he is given initial instruction in his own language prior to undertaking a test in the second language. Obviously, if he cannot understand what he is to do, he cannot perform satisfactorily (34). Additionally, when the examiner is of the same ethnic background as the student, the understanding and confidence which is created allows the student to perform far better than if he were being tested by someone of different background (34).

Language abilities which can be measured consist of a number of widely varying skills. Since some of the skills are indicative of the ability to handle the production of material while others indicate the ability to handle the reception of material, it may be useful to arrange these varieties of skills in a convenient matrix illustrating both production and reception.

Clearly, preschool children and illiterates of all ages will be completely lacking, or nearly so, in the skills listed under writing and reading. Bilingual students will have a dual matrix situation in which the relation of capacity in one area of the native language matrix to the same area of the second

Chart I

Phase Matrix of Language Skills*

Production Encoding		*Reception Decoding*	
Speaking	*Writing*	*Listening*	*Reading*
Semantics	Semantics	Semantics	Semantics
Syntax	Syntax	Syntax	Syntax
Morphology	Morphology	Morphology	Morphology
Lexicon	Lexicon	Lexicon	Lexicon
Phonemes	Graphemes	Phonemes	Graphemes
Kinesics	Paralanguage	Kinesics	Paralanguage

*Adapted from Cervenka (15) and MacNamara (29) language matrix must be considered. This may be a very difficult, perhaps impossible task. "No easy way of measuring or characterizing the total impact of one language on another in the speech of bilinguals has been, or probably can be, devised" (48).

When such abilities are translated from the terminology of the linguist, a variety of characteristics emerge which include items ranging from the completely mechanical skills to the most abstract cognitive abilities. It is of considerable importance that by far the most common skills tested are the purely mechanical despite the lack of evidence of any correlation between such skills and language proficiency. From a sample of two hundred educational experiments regarding abilities which were considered significant as predictors, the following emerged when items with a citation incidence of five or more were tabulated. The purely mechanical skills were excluded since they were mentioned in virtually every report and no correlation could be found for them.

Varied and Flexible Vocabulary
Aural Comprehension
Oral Usage
Phonetic Accuracy
Length and Number of "T" Units (main clause with associated subordinate clause)
Cloze Ability (ability to comprehend or reconstruct material from which every nth element is removed)
Frequency of Use of Tentativeness, Relational Words, Conditional Clauses, and Optional Grammatical Patterns
Ability to Restructure or Rephrase
Ability to Handle Syntactic Cues

Associated research with specific interest in these areas is detailed (1; 4; 5; 26; 27; 35; 46). These items depend to a considerable extent on standardization and norming procedures. Few tests have extensive norms and those that do have such norms may be completely irrelevant to curriculum needs. There is some research which gives no indication of a person's socialization or intellectual identity from the observable presence of a linguistic characteristic such as the use of standard verb forms, preferred lexical items, or acceptable pronunciation (45).

Tests

More tests which are in current use in research are tests which have been developed for the particular area to be investigated or the specific experiment in which they will be used. Most researchers are apparently dissatisfied with published tests and are convinced that they must develop their own which are more suited to their needs. The cited sample of research (chosen from studies reported in *Research in Education* under the ERIC descriptors of comparative testing, language testing, language capacity, and disadvantaged students) referred to twenty-nine published tests, the most frequently cited meriting only five citations.

All other tests cited were specifically developed tests produced for the research in which they were used. Some of these tests are now commercially available and will be going through the norming and use process necessary for validation. It should be emphasized that the following list is not comprehensive for many of the tests were unavailable at the time of writing. Explicit and complete reviews for many of the following tests may be found in the *Mental Measurements Yearbooks* (6-8) and *Tests in Print* (9). References in parentheses at the end of each summary refer to the more complete reference in the appropriate source material.

A final point to be noted: since curricula change and students change, the older a test, the more satisfactory a local group will appear when measured against national norms; obviously if one wants to demonstrate that a new methodology has solved a particular problem, one should use an older test rather than the newest test to appear. Such new tests tend to measure areas not previously considered in the methodology while the older tests measure those items which the methodologies have had sufficient experience and practice in solving and teaching.

1. *Barrett-Ryan-Schrammel English Test:* two citations. Designed to survey student proficiency in English mechanics, facilitate grouping and placement, and to diagnose deficiencies.

Items are based on the common content of leading textbooks and courses of study; which and how many are not specified. No evidence is available to indicate that the test performs better than a reasonably good teacher-made examination and no evidence is provided that placement is facilitated by test scores to a greater extent than previous grades in English (7:B).

2. *California Achievement Test:* two citations. Designed to survey student achievement in reading, arithmetic, and language.

Test items are well constructed although their coverage is somewhat limited. Population sample size is rather small and achievement scores are based on material produced in 1957 (8:A).

3. *California Language Tests:* one citation. Designed to test mechanics, word usage, sentence structure, and verbal expression.

Standardization is poorly defined and the reviewer is not convinced of its representativeness, particularly since school system testing for the South and the Northwest is completely lacking. The word usage section appears to be particularly prone to dialect misinterpretation (8:G).

4. *Cooperative English Test:* one citation. Designed to test usage, grammar, mechanics, sentence structure, spelling, and vocabulary.

The test does not examine the ability to write or speak and resembles tests found in English workbooks. The test was produced in 1938 and has been only slightly changed since that time (8:H; 8:I).

5. *Cooperative School and College Ability Test:* one citation. Designed to test the total range of academic achievement for placement in high school and college.

The test places a heavy emphasis on reading and writing. It predicts academic achievement better for women than for men, and the total score predicts English grades far better than the partial sub-score on verbal ability. The test is not wide enough in range and tends to discriminate against lower achievers (8:N).

6. *Differential Aptitude Test:* one citation. Designed to test general verbal aptitude on basis of responses indicating agreement or disagreement with test item.

Test usage has not changed since 1947. The norms appear large, but are actually quite small when each level is considered. The ends of the normal range are apparently unbalanced and, possibly, biased (8:S).

7. *Gloria and David Beginning English, Series No. 20, Test 6, Language Arts—Spanish-English:* one citation. Designed to test phonology, oral comprehension, and aural comprehension. To a lesser degree, also tests translation ability.

Local norms must be developed through use of check sheet supplied. Designed to be used in conjunction with filmstrips and tape recorder in order to supply same testing situation to all students (47).

8. *Essentials of English Test:* one citation. Tests usage, spelling, mechanics, sentence structure, and vocabulary.

The test is essentially based on material developed for use in 1939 and is relatively out-of-date by current standards. Vocabulary appears to be overly formal (8:J).

9. *Frostig Developmental Test of Visual Perception:* two citations. A clinical tool for the definition of perceptual abilities and levels of understanding.

The test relies on non-verbal responses to a series of pictures which are somewhat culturally biased. Primarily used with handicapped children, such as aphasics and emotionally disturbed, and lower age level children. Has a lesser degree of validity with non-handicapped children. Directions to the child reflect some language and culture problems which are not considered in the scoring (8:R).

10. *Greene-Stapp Language Abilities Test:* two citations. Test items focus on the determination of abilities related to classroom content, such as spelling, grammar, and mechanics.

Student must register his understanding of the correctness of an item or its converse by assigning a grammatical reason for the error. This ability as well as the ability to recognize formal vocabulary may discriminate against the low socioeconomic level or nonstandard dialect student (7:C).

11. *Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability:* five citations. Designed to differentiate facets of cognitive ability by means of 346 items classed into twelve groups: auditory reception; visual reception; visual sequential memory; auditory association; auditory sequential memory; visual association; visual closure; verbal expression; grammatic closure; manual expression; auditory closure; and sound blending.

This is the most commonly used test in the research explored. Only a few studies are available of the recent revision, but a significant number of projects are underway including the use of the test in the evaluation of national Head Start programs. It should be noted that the size of various subsections of the test varies from the maximum of fifty items for auditory reception to four for verbal expression. The average number of items per facet is twenty-nine. Validation of the test was done on groups of white children in Wisconsin. Whether the test is satisfactory is yet to be determined, but on the surface the test does not inspire confidence. Most teachers indicate that the lack of ability in verbal expression is the most serious disadvantage their students can have in the classroom. The ITPA diagnoses such ability on the basis of four items from a total of 346. How such a diagnosis can be accurate or predictive except in the most general of terms is a mystery (8:Q).

12. *Iowa Test of Basic Skills:* one citation.
13. *Iowa Test of Educational Development:* two citations. Both tests investigate language skills through vocabulary, reading comprehension, spelling, mechanics, and usage.

The testee is expected to find the error in the material presented to him in these tests. As a result, the tests emphasize editorial abilities and are more indicative of experiential background than of skills or language ability. Dialect variation would appear to be a factor in low scoring. The standard sample reflects this for there is a pronounced shortage of trials in urban Southern schools (8:B).

14. *Metropolitan Achievement Test:* four citations.
15. *Metropolitan Readiness Test:* four citations. Both tests are designed to test achievement and ability in the total range of skills thought appropriate for success in the classroom.

The tests are conservative tests reflecting the understanding the publisher had of the national curriculum at the time the tests were constructed. Norms were based on white children in twenty-six states.

Language material is inadequate for the student at the lower end of the scales since chance scores are less than one-half grade below the minimum level for which norms are offered. The use-ranges introduce a reliability of 6/9 or 66 percent which is not sufficient to discriminate with sufficient confidence at the low end of the scale. Since the publisher specifically warns against the use of the tests for individual diagnosis, it is difficult to understand why this test is as popular as it is unless one believes the test users assume their school population to be uniformly middle class and white (6:A; 8:C; 8:T).

16. *Objective Test in Grammar:* two citations. Measures recognition and verbal ability in terms of traditional formal grammar.

The publisher provides no data on reliability, no data on validity, no manual, no norms, no standards, and the test is untimed. Presumably the test users have used the test for some time and are comfortable with it on the basis of local experience (6:A; 9).

17. *Oral Directions Test:* one citation. Designed to test aural comprehension, visual discrimination, and motor skills of individuals over sixteen years of age.

The test finds its greatest usefulness as a screening device for low level factory positions. The test discriminates against rural populations and, apparently, women (7:D).

18. *Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test:* three citations. Designed for use with children incapable of taking regular tests, *e.g.*, cerebral palsied, brain damaged.

The examiner reads a word and the subject indicates a picture. The test is short. Standards supplied with the test are based on children living near Nashville, Tennessee. The score point jumps are very large: 50 points indicates IQ score of 101 at age 5.5 but a score of 89 at age 5.6 (8:O).

19. *Purdue High School English Test:* one citation. Tests vocabulary, spelling, reading comprehension, and mechanics.

The subject matter coverage is restricted and there are few indications of curricular relevance. A peculiarity of the test is that chance scores put the individual into high percentile ranks on subtests (45th percentile, 64th percentile) (6:A; 8:K).

20. *Science Research Associates High School Placement:* one citation.
21. *Language Arts Tests:* two citations. Both tests are designed to evaluate

a student's ability in total curriculum areas and in the specific language skills requisite for academic success.

The tests attempt to evaluate total student ability as well as language proficiency, but it is possible to achieve a grade equivalent increase of one-half to one year and fifteen to twenty percentile points solely for one correct spelling. The validity of the tests are open to question since several possible alternate answers may be given for many items on the test without being considered in the total score. "Only if the ablest students take the tests in the spirit of 'what answer did the author intend to be considered right' instead of 'what answer or answers can be defended as correct alternatives' would they score well on the test" (8:D:88; 8:L).

22. *Sequential Test of Educational Progress:* two citations. Designed to test the entire range of educational ability.

The test provides for the typical student only and discriminates against students at both ends of the ability range. The test is an attractive one and provides scores which give the appearance of being informative. Most reviewers are uncertain of the worth of the information provided, however (7:A; 8:E).

23. *Stanford Achievement Test:* three citations. A test for the basic range of school achievement (reading, spelling, arithmetic, language, social studies, and science).

The language portion of the test asks students to identify words which are the best descriptors of a picture, *e.g.*, to choose items of similar phonic value. In so doing, the test is concerned with the measurement of ability in formal school standard written English. Such ability is usually lacking among the linguistically different. Apparently the continued wide use of the test comes from the user's long familiarity with it and the development of valid local standards. Since the tests are based on the texts and the curricula of the 1950's, they will measure what was modern then and is, perhaps, standard now (8:F).

24. *Stanford-Binet IQ Scale:* four citations.

With the publication of Arthur R. Jensen's article "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" (23), most IQ tests and scales were immediately labeled as suspect, biased, racist, misleading, and worse. Such tests are characterized by the investigation of the ability to initiate and maintain abstract reasoning as well as the ability to solve problems of various natures. Jensen claims that this ability or group of abilities is inherited. It is difficult to evaluate the pros and cons of the argument from the point of view of language but three items are worth noting: (1) learning ability is characterized by at least a two-level system consisting of associative or rote learning and conceptual or cognitive learning; (2) most curricula stress conceptual learning to the almost complete exclusion of associative learning; and (3) language teaching has emphasized the value of associative-rote learning in the early stages of language acquisition. It would follow that IQ tests as currently conceived would discriminate against the individual still in an associative learning stage. Whether this is true or not, it should be further noted that the Stanford-Binet norms were established in 1937 and are now some thirty-three years old (8:P; 18; 23).

25. *English Usage Test for Non-Native Speakers of English:* two citations.

26. *Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency:* two citations.
27. *Listening Test for Students of English as a Second Language:* two citations.
28. *Test of English as a Foreign Language:* two citations.
29. *Oral Rating Form for Rating Language Proficiency in Speaking and Understanding English:* two citations. These five tests are designed to evaluate pronunciation, grammar and word order, vocabulary, aural comprehension, sentence length, and mechanics. In addition, some also evaluate general speed of speech and oral fluency.

These tests are standardized on the basis of a student's ability to function at the collegiate level. It is assumed that all persons taking the test are more than sixteen years of age and are intent on an academic program at or beyond the freshman level in college. The language which is rated is highly specific to general academic usage. While these tests function reasonably well, they are not suitable as ability scales, being more precisely accurate for placement purposes. Here the validity varies considerably and is highly dependent on standardization within the local situation. One could take the tests off the shelf and use them immediately, but their predictive ability would have to be taken on faith (8:M).

Implications

Are these tests and their findings helpful in planning instructional strategy? Since any test will help the teacher or the curriculum developer by providing a score or an evaluation which functions as a reference point, we can say that they are helpful in planning instructional strategy. But the strategy which is planned may be considerably different from existing strategy and may require wholesale change in the curriculum to be completely effective. Again, since most test developers caution against the use of subsections of a test as diagnostic tools, few tests can be said to be satisfactory.

A number of tests which do make provision for such diagnostic use provide very limited and quite unnatural samples of the range of abilities normally expected of the student. The result of such partial diagnostic work may conceivably hinder the student or misdirect his energies. Such tests and their diagnoses are valid only when the user has had sufficient experience with them in the situation in which they are to be used so that he feels generally confident with their predictions and can interpret the test scores with ease. Once this occurs he can make satisfactory diagnostic use of them. Then the cycle starts once more: is that which is being tested relevant to what is being taught; and can a partial sample of the student's work predict his ultimate level of achievement? The answer to date appears to be that one should wear the shoe if it fits properly.

Some results have been determined by several of the tests which indicate the validity of one or another instructional strategy. Many linguists and language researchers have argued that the difference between the linguistically sophisticated and the linguistically immature is not so much the awareness of correct and incorrect usage but rather the general knowledge of a wide range of language varieties and adequate contact with the varieties most characteristic of school instruction. Many experiments and tests indicate that it is far more fruitful to expand the student's language repertory than it is to "correct" the language he uses in his daily life. By providing a wide range of experiential contacts, the teacher and the curriculum can make clear that language consists of a variety of styles which must be mastered, each of which has its own value and use. Such awareness is highly effective in providing the individual with a solid base for his later cognitive understanding of use levels (14; 32; 33; 38; 39).

How the repertory is to be expanded is another and more difficult matter. Some specialists have argued that language growth in the early stages is an associative process requiring a fairly large amount of rote learning. Language teaching specialists have made effective use of this effect in their development of the audio-lingual methodology which stresses the development of habitual patterns of behavior. When research has examined this area and has investigated the language acquisition of children, there has been considerable evidence that rote or associative learning is quite important in the early stages of the language learning process (11; 19; 23; 24; 25; 43; 47). It is possible that the benefits derived from such teaching are due mainly to the structuring of the content which is introduced as a consequence of the development of appropriate materials. Many of the reports indicate that structuring is quite important (11; 24; 25; 36) and advocate the teaching of topics from the point of view of the final examination. It is suggested that the final examination be a comprehensive map of all those skills and abilities which the student is expected to have at the end of his period of study (13).

Some types of instruction and instructional techniques have been indicated as having limited or marginal value in the language teaching process. While they are suitable in average circumstances, these techniques are apparently of little use in the exceptional circumstances found in the linguistically different classroom. These are the use of diagramming (17), instruction in standard English as an aid to reading for the linguistically different (41), instruction in formal language at the early stages of language learning (30), and instruction centered on the school situation alone (39).

Some techniques are successful. From the numerous reports of such successes, one might think that basic discoveries in the teaching process are being made. In reality, these positive reports only echo a rather obvious characteristic of education: when the classroom situation is familiar to the student, the curriculum content apparent, the teacher enthusiastic, and student needs and interests met, then a wonderful amount of learning is achieved.

Most positive reports indicated that a few specific techniques are of more than passing value: (1) earlier instruction for the linguistically different is likely to prevent many language problems in later school years (12); (2) pre-instruction in the student's language or dialect helps him perform better in standard English (34); (3) the use of content materials to teach language is more successful than the use of language materials alone (44); (4) highly structured programs are more successful with the linguistically different than they are with the standard population (24; 25); and (5) the earlier the language material is introduced to the student, the more likely it is that he will master it (10; 28; 38). However, although many individuals argue that a specific age is more advantageous for the introduction of instruction in language, there is no evidence that one age is better than any other. All research has indicated is that an early start gives more practice, and practice is apparently what is necessary for language mastery (10).

What are the high priority test needs? A few items are apparent as possible topics: (1) we must be able to measure an individual's competence in language (whether he speaks a nonstandard dialect or another language) as contrasted with his competence in standard English; (2) we need a convenient checksheet so that teachers and school administrators can determine what standard of language is used in school or is used in the community; (3) we must have an acceptable definition of standard English which allows for the richness of some of the dialects spoken in the United States; (4) we need tests which distinguish between language proficiency and degree of socialization; (5) we need to know what it is that is required for satisfactory performance in the school curriculum in language other than that performance solely based on written language; and (6) finally, but not least of all, we need a definition of language which takes into account all of the abilities used in human communication. We are still an inordinate distance from a satisfactory definition, let alone a detailed specification of skills.

The work being done in the Nevada desert with the chimpanzee Washoe (20) indicates that language is not solely confined to man and may be used for significant interspecies communication. If the Gardners are successful with Washoe, we will be in dire need of a true definition of "linguistically different."

Summary

Present school programs place considerable reliance on the results of standardized language tests both as placement devices and as diagnostic devices, yet the validity of these tests is open to question. This paper discusses the following four questions in the light of current theory and research:

1. To what extent are currently available measuring techniques useful for identifying the characteristics of linguistically different learners?
2. Are they helpful in planning instructional strategies?
3. How might the learning potentialities of linguistically different learners be measured?
4. What are the high priority test needs?

General findings of research indicate the general preference of most researchers for the specially developed test designed for the particular research at hand. More than half of all programs surveyed used such specially developed tests.

The results of such testing indicate two main branches of investigation as fruitful areas: the individual's ability in language as contrasted with his ability in standard language. Current understanding of language, language learning, and curriculum design indicates some confusion of goals in these three areas which must be clarified before test findings may be used with the same meaning in each area.

Publication Sources for Tests

1. *Barrett-Ryan-Schrammel English Test*
   Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017
2. *California Achievement Test*
   California Test Bureau, DelMonte Research Park, Monterey, California 93940
3. *California Language Tests*
   California Test Bureau, DelMonte Research Park, Monterey, California 93940
4. *Cooperative English Test: Usage, Spelling, and Vocabulary*
   Cooperative Test Division, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey 08540
5. *Cooperative School and College Ability Test*
   Cooperative Test Division, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey 08540
6. *Differential Aptitude Test*
   Psychological Corporation, 304 E. 45th Street, New York, New York 10017
7. *Gloria and David Beginning English, Series No. 20, Test 6, Language Arts–Spanish-English*
   Language Arts, Incorporated, 1205 W. 34th Street, Austin, Texas 78705
8. *Essentials of English Test*
   American Guidance Service, Inc., 720 Washington Avenue, S.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414
9. *Marianne Frostig Developmental Test of Visual Perception*
   Consulting Psychologists Press, 577 College Avenue, Palo Alto, California 94306
10. *Greene-Stapp Language Abilities Test*
    Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017
11. *Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability*
    University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois 61803
12. *Iowa Test of Basic Skills*

Houghton Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02107

13. *The Iowa Test of Educational Development*
    Science Research Associates, 259 E. Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611
14. *Metropolitan Achievement Test*
    Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017
15. *Metropolitan Readiness Test*
    Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017
16. *Objective Test in English (Grammar)*
    Perfection Form Company, 214 W. Eighth Street, Logan, Iowa 51546
17. *Personnel Tests for Industry: Oral Directions Test*
    Psychological Corporation, 304 E. 45th Street, New York, New York 10017
18. *Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test*
    American Guidance Services, Inc., 720 Washington Avenue, S.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414
19. *The Purdue High School English Test*
    Houghton Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02107
20. *S. R. A. High School Placement Test*
    Science Research Associates, 259 E. Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611
21. *S. R. A. Achievement Series: Language Arts Tests*
    Science Research Associates, 259 E. Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611
22. *Sequential Test of Educational Progress*
    Cooperative Test Division, Educational Testing Services, Princeton, New Jersey 08541
23. *Stanford Achievement Test*
    Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017
24. *Stanford-Binet IQ Scale*
    Houghton Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02107
25. *English Usage Test for Non-Native Speakers of English*
26. *Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency*
    Follet's Michigan Bookstore, 322 S. State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
27. *Listening Test for Students of English as a Second Language*
28. *Test of English as a Foreign Language*
    Educational Testing Services, Princeton, New Jersey 08540
29. *Oral Rating Form for Rating Language Proficiency in Speaking and Understanding English*
    American Language Institute, 3065 O Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20007

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Developing Fluency in Standard Oral English*

The ERIC system has acceded many documents dealing with different aspects of education in order to make them available for use without the delay that is often encountered in professional journals.[1] The problems of ready accessibility solved, we can turn to examining documents that deal with a particular issue. The issue which will be discussed in this paper subsumes two related questions:

1. What are the most promising techniques for developing fluency in standard oral English?
2. Is it necessary to provide different language patterned exercises for different languages and dialects common to U.S. school populations?

Selecting the Documents

In considering a document, we must look at the way in which the author has described the situation to which a solution is sought because his interpretation of the situation will influence his suggestions for action. If one's interpretation is that the students' language is simply different from standard oral English, teaching standard oral English resembles teaching a foreign language in that we are, in both cases, interested in helping the students acquire another linguistic system for use in those situations in which this other system is appropriate and useful. If, on the other hand, one views the students' language as insufficient for communication and the assimilation of information, teaching standard oral English is a matter of filling gaps so that the students can function as learners. Teaching plural forms to students who cannot produce plural statements and who cannot perform actions implied by plural statements (Osborn, n.d., 3) is a task different from (and, one would guess, considerably more difficult than) teaching plurals forms to students who have already mastered one way of expressing plurality and are to learn another way of expressing it. Teaching the use of the word *not* would be one type of undertaking if the students had mastered a negative statement like *She ain't here*, and quite another if the students had no means of expressing negation in their speech.

There seems to be a clear division between those educators who have selected a "deficit model" and have predicated their pedagogy on apparent deficiencies in the children's linguistic performance and those who have selected a "difference model" and whose pedagogy reflects this selection.[2]

Because the "deficit model" is inappropriate in describing dialect differences, it yields incorrect results that may lead to inappropriate pedagogical steps. One ERIC document maintains that the children in one program exhibited "a lack of oral language ability" (Milwaukee Public Schools,

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[1] The ERIC documents cited in this paper were in the system at the end of 1969.

[2] For a discussion of these two models and their relative merits, see Wolfram, 1970.

1967, 8). Such a claim may not seem unreasonable since we hope that every student's ability to use language will improve over the years of his education. But earlier in the document we find a clearer statement of the view of the lower-class child's retarded language development:

> The so-called "disadvantaged" child, for example, may come from an environment in which there is little verbal communication or in which the speech he hears is inarticulate or fragmented. Such a child is usually delayed in speech development. . . . (Milwaukee Public Schools, 1967, 2)

The premise that the child is "delayed in speech development" leads to the recommendation that speech therapists use their specialized training to remedy the problem. Another document approaches the situation in a similar manner:

> It was argued that the poor, fragmented and inarticulate speech patterns of pupils coming from economically disadvantaged areas requires (*sic*) [the work of speech education specialists]. (Carton, 1966, 1)

Again we see that the interpretation of the situation will suggest the types of action to take.

Since the students' dialect of English is different from standard English but not, in any way, demonstrably inferior or lacking (and any linguistically sound view must support this), what rationale is there for teaching standard oral English, and what does this imply in regard to means for accomplishing the pedagogical objective? Therapy and remediation can no longer be held as valid; teaching standard English for use in socially appropriate situations seems to be a more tenable and realistic undertaking. The students' language cannot be considered insufficient in itself; standard English, then, appears to be an alternate to a nonstandard dialect—both appropriate in different social contexts. The author of this paper rejects documents in which dialect difference is interpreted as deficiency or in which socially determined appropriateness in language behavior is not recognized.

Answering the First Question

The field of teaching English as a second language (ESL) was not new when the current concern with disadvantaged students arose in the early years of the past decade; much was known about foreign-language teaching, information gained from successful programs in the United States and abroad. The public schools became aware that many of their students did not control English and that their English teachers were not specifically trained in second-language methodology. It has been a matter of bringing the knowledge and experience from other ESL contexts into the public school classroom; thus, an answer to the first question: what are the most promising techniques for developing fluency in standard oral English?

But the second-dialect situation was new. Formerly, there had not been a widespread view of the English language as a changing phenomenon in which natural variations occurred from social context to social context: "correct English" existed and other versions of English were "incorrect English." Now, the linguists (sociolinguists, principally) were telling teachers and school administrators that "right-and-wrong" did not accurately reflect the picture of language in its social setting. If we were to help students increase the scope of their linguistic skills, what methodology or methodologies seemed worthwhile investigating? How could we teach our students to control another dialect of the language? To many people who had experience and/or training in teaching English as a second language, the teaching of a second dialect (or, more precisely, teaching those features that clearly differentiated two dialects) was somewhat familiar territory in which many trails had already been opened but in which there still existed ample opportunity for further exploration.[3] Documents in ERIC indicate that many people have explored this territory.

One of the most interesting aspects of teaching standard oral English as another dialect is in determining those features of ESL methodology to be used in second-dialect work. In a document about audio-lingual methods in language arts, Plaister (1967) recommends talk: lots of talk from the students and lots of talk from the teacher, providing models of standard English. Plaister recommends reading to the students, again providing appropriate models, and he recommends using dialogs and playlets as interesting ways of introducing standard English into the students' mouths. Substitution drills and the use of tape recordings and records are also recommended. The overall picture which Plaister draws is of ways of stimulating speech and of gradually injecting standard English into the work.

Several of the programs described in ERIC documents have concentrated on the repetition and manipulation of standard oral English as an important part of their pedagogy. For this type of teaching, language laboratories might be an ideal way to remove the burden of drilling from the teacher while giving each student maximum opportunity to hear and practice standard English. The work at Claflin College is an example of the utilization of taped exercises in language laboratories:

> . . .it is believed that only repetitious practice imitating model sentences can bring about firm neuro-muscular control and the habit of using the new language patterns at the appropriate moment. (Lin, 1965, 41)

In Atlanta,

> the students in the labs,. . . through repetition drills, a variety of substitution and mutation drills, are learning the reproduction of sounds in the standard English speech of their geographical region. (Atlanta Public Schools, 1967, 3)

One of the more rigorous trials of audio-lingual methodology was carried out by Golden (n.d., 3) who states:

> The taped lessons [for secondary school students; providing listening and repeating practice] were found to be effective to a significant degree in changing extempore and impromptu speech patterns. The experiment provided proof that tape-teaching is a sound technique. . . .

Audio-visual equipment has become popular in educational circles; sometimes this popularity has come from certain properties of the equipment that do not relate directly to the efficacy with which a given teaching task can be accomplished. More studies of the Golden type are needed in order to assess the advantage in employing a certain device or teaching technique.

Johnson (1967, 21) advises the use of certain second-language techniques in teaching standard English; specifically, he says:

> 1. Select one sound or grammatical item to teach.
> 2. Get the pupils to *hear* the sound or *recognize* the grammatical structure.
> 3. Get the pupils to *reproduce* the standard item.
> 4. Get the pupils to *hear* or *recognize* the difference between the standard item and the equivalent nonstandard item.
> 5. Get the pupils to discriminate between the standard and nonstandard item. . . .
> 6. Get the pupils to use the standard item in their speech. . . .

One interesting and vital difference between teaching a second language and a second dialect is the use of the students' dialect as an integral part of the pedagogy. In teaching English as a second language, we do not need to distinguish English from the students' native language; for example, the students know if a given sentence is English or Spanish. However, to counteract the confusion that could arise when the students are not sure whether a sentence like *We go home* is standard or nonstandard, the nonstandard dialect could be introduced as Johnson recommends. Since we are concerned with appropriate dialects for different social contexts, we must be sure that the students understand (and accept) this idea of appropriateness before drillwork begins. Johnson recommends that the idea be brought up and reemphasized regularly throughout the teaching.

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[3] See the discussion in Carroll and Feigenbaum, 1967.

Motivating the students to accept the relative appropriateness of dialects and the practice needed to acquire the standard dialect are important concerns. Slager (1967, 1167) says:

> . . .oral drills can be as futile as the prescriptive grammatical rules and the workbook exercises on filling in blanks unless the students *want* to change. Otherwise they become resentful or remarkably indifferent. Most English teachers (at least among themselves) are willing to admit that the vast majority of their students who begin the first grade saying *he don't* graduate from high school saying *he don't*. The failure lies not only in the endless and boring workbook exercises. It lies in the inability of the teacher to convince the students that the change is worth making.

Another document recommends starting at a point meaningful to the student: a statement made by a student. Furthermore, it is important to use nonstandard sentences that can be readily translated into the standard dialect since translation is one of the principal pedagogical techniques. As in the article by Johnson, we find here a recommendation to focus on one pattern at a time and to proceed systematically (Gladney and Leaverton, 1968, 2-3).

The principles of second-language pedagogy have been taken for use in teaching standard oral English as a second dialect; a number of sets of materials have been produced for classroom use. It would not be worthwhile enumerating the ESL features incorporated in these materials. That these sets of materials are mentioned in ERIC documents and that several of them are available through the ERIC system indicate the feelings of success that resulted from their use.[4]

Answering the Second Question

The materials developed in Los Angeles are interesting because we find one set for teaching speakers of black nonstandard English and another set for speakers of Spanish. The people in Los Angeles have clearly stated their response to the second question: is it necessary to provide different language patterned exercises for different languages and dialects common to U. S. school populations?

Finding answers to this question can be difficult. It has often been left undiscussed explicitly but answered by strong implication. The implication is that, since we are going to use some of the same types of teaching techniques and drills that we have found useful in teaching English as a second language, the very same techniques and drills can be used. This implication receives further support from the statement of our goals: to teach a control of standard oral English. That the overall goals are the same in the two situations and that elements of the same methodology may be useful in both situations often lead to the conclusion that the exercises can be the same. In his article about effecting dialect change, Slager (1967, 1174) says, "These drills were written for foreign students, but they can be used very successfully with nonstandard speakers." It is not clear whether Slager means that we can use these drills because there is nothing else immediately available or whether he means that they are perfectly acceptable. It is true that we can use many different types of teaching materials, and perhaps we are thrown onto some inadequate ones because more effective ones are not yet available; in fact, diagramming may have been useful to some students in their attempts to master the formal type of English required in their classes. However, since we are concerned with the most effective and efficient ways of teaching, we cannot stop after finding a temporary expedient.

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[4] See documents listed in the bibliography.

Although the overall goal in both the second-language and the second-dialect situations is the same—a control of the spoken standard language—the immediate goals are different. We are not faced with teaching an entire, new language to the speakers of a nonstandard dialect: they already speak English. The task is one of teaching the recognition and mastery of alternate linguistic forms for use in the appropriate situations. In distinction to the foreign-language context in which fluency in English must be taught, these students must have help in focusing on the features that differentiate standard and nonstandard speech and in selecting them correctly. Because the starting points of the second-language and second-dialect students are different, what we teach and how we teach it may have to be different.

Let us look at the two situations, a speaker of Spanish and a speaker of a nonstandard dialect, both learning to control standard oral English. We want both of these students to pronounce the words *then, other,* and *clothe* with the consonant sound /ð/. The Spanish-speaking student may say these three words substituting /d/, /ð/, and /ð/, respectively. Since the student already controls /ð/ between vowels and at the end of words, we try to extend the use of /ð/ to the beginning of words. Although we may not be working on the pronunciation of the other sounds in the words used in drilling the consonant /ð/, somewhere in the coursework we must be concerned with the student's accurate and fluent production of all the sounds in all the words. A speaker of the nonstandard dialect most frequently encountered in the District of Columbia would probably pronounce these words with /d/, /v/, and /v/, respectively. In this case, we would be faced with teaching a sound that the student does not regularly produce at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of words. We are not concerned with the student's pronunciation of the other sounds in the words unless they mark differences between standard and nonstandard English. Since part of the instruction involves working against interference from the student's native language or dialect, the strategies in the two cases would be different.

The same division is seen in teaching grammar. Our goal is that both students mark verb endings in the way that educated speakers of English do. Here again, the goals are the same in a general sense, but the students do not begin with the same linguistic behavior, and, in the interest of greater efficiency, we attack the two situations differently. In teaching patterns of the type *he sits near the window,* we must be concerned with all the persons, not just the third person singular, since a speaker of the nonstandard dialect mentioned above has already mastered a verb paradigm that is uniform:

I sit	we sit
you sit	you sit
he sit	
she sit	they sit
it sit	

He may overgeneralize the pattern suggested by *he sits* to produce *I sits, you sits,* and so on. We must introduce the verb structure of the nonstandard dialect in order to help the student learn to select the appropriate verb form. On the other hand, the speaker of Spanish comes from a language background where all three persons, singular and plural, are differentiated in the verbal endings; he may face less trouble in learning the correct standard English usage. His problem will lie more in the area of pronouncing the vowel sound in the verb forms; whereas the speaker of the nonstandard dialect will not have this problem.

In describing his work, Dykstra (1967, 2) raises the following issue:

> What research can be started within the framework of this project to help determine the nature of the differences that are both necessary and sufficient in provision of materials for different cultures? One ultimate goal of this type of research is to determine the nature and extent of the valid applications of contrastive analysis in materials development. Another is to determine the nature, the possible extent and the relative usefulness of a common core set of materials designed for a wide range of cultures.

Dykstra's question is valid, but he is concerned with materials for use within the framework of teaching English as a second language. The author of this paper wishes to raise a different question: the appropriateness of foreign-language materials for use in the native-language classroom. The difference is not simply in the pronunciation and grammar features to be taught; the difference is not just in the amount of material to be mastered; the difference is also in the methodological approaches needed. It has been the failure to distinguish the native speaker of a language from a speaker of a foreign language that has restricted many standard oral English programs to being simply ESL by another name.

Historically, the methodology of teaching English as a second language came out of descriptive linguistics. The assumptions, the textbook materials, and the teaching techniques were heavily influenced by this evolution. Many of the people who came to teaching standard oral English via the route of linguistics and ESL had experience and training in this methodology. It was natural that the earliest efforts would resemble second-language teaching to a great degree.[5] Now, we must jar ourselves from this track and see that we are not teaching a second language. Since one's interpretation of a given situation will influence one's reactions and course of action, a new appraisal of this different teaching situation is essential.[6]

Unanswered Questions

It has been easy to find recommendations to use ESL methodology in teaching standard English, and it has not been very difficult to find people who have adopted ESL in the native-language class. Certain matters still have not been sufficiently investigated and rigorously tested; trials of the type done by Golden (n.d.) are rare. The following questions might be asked:

1. What aspects of ESL methodology are most effective in teaching standard oral English? Where can we look for promising techniques to fill the spaces left by ineffective ESL techniques which we have rejected?
2. What other pedagogical approaches—perhaps quite different from the patterned, feature-by-feature method of ESL—might be useful?

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[5] It is interesting to note, for example, that the Atlanta program adopted a methodology recommended by William Stewart and Raven McDavid, two linguists.

[6] For a beginning look at this distinction, see Feigenbaum, 1969.

5. At what age or ages should instruction in standard oral English begin? How much instruction is needed?

One can also raise the questions of whether we should teach standard oral English or of the factors outside language teaching that influence the success of a program (can students be taught to control a second dialect?). These two questions merit discussion, but they did not fall within the scope of this paper. We assumed that the task was to be done, and we looked for sound, available information. Anyone who has worked with ESL-like methodology in a native-language classroom knows the limitations of that methodology, even with the best available materials. Examining the documents available through ERIC indicates that we need more, rigorous experimentation which will provide data more reliable than teachers' and supervisors' reactions.

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To What Extent Should Parents Be Involved in Language Programs for Linguistically Different Learners?*

The best answer to the title question is, probably, to the degree to which learning in that program is facilitated, hastened, or broadened by including a planned family activity component. Face validity alone presents a strong case for having children engage in home activities that employ skills which are being taught in school. This practice, or home reinforcement, could become so important and contribute so much to learning as to raise the question of whether the home supports the school in its teaching/learning or vice versa.

McCarthy's (1954) review of the literature of language development in children cites references to the language superiority of children who: (1) come from families in which they are encouraged to actively participate in breakfast and supper conversation, and those who come from families in which the parents do not eat with them; (2) are given "satisfactory" answers to their questions and are thus encouraged to ask more; (3) through frequent association with adults get more than an average amount of practice in using longer sentences as well as more advanced patterns of language; and (4) receive generous expressions of real love and affection from their parents as a part of their day-to-day living. While these reports may not be regarded as earthshaking in the 1970's, they must still be underscored when contrasted with reports of children in orphanage and other institutional environments who have been shown to be the most seriously retarded group in language development.

The importance of association with adults and receiving attention from them is further emphasized by McCarthy (1954), who states: "... it appears that children living in an orphanage have the maximum amount of association with other children and a minimum of association with, and attention from, adults." If, then, adult attention is an important contributing factor to language development in children, it would stand to reason that parents and other family members can and should actively engage in activities that supplement or parallel the school's programs.

Such participation has been reported in conjunction with learning to read. Brazziel (1964) reported a program conducted in Norfolk, Virginia, in which parents worked directly with the school in providing children with experiences, both in and out of the home, which were deemed important in readying first graders for learning to read. The experiences included trips to cultural centers, trips to public exhibits, and the use of resource people as well as TV programs, books, and magazines. All trips were within

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walking distance of the housing project where most of the children lived and all recommended materials could be borrowed from the school or public library. Preschool workshops and twice-monthly meetings were held with parents in the early stages of the program. Subjective reports of the program were all favorable and objective reading test results indicated that first graders' mean scores were somewhat above the national norms of the test used. In considering both the subjective and objective reports, it would be well to keep in mind the "attention from adults" factor as well as the interest factor of the trips and other activities prescribed by the program.

Another study of how effectively parents could prepare preschool children for learning to read was reported by Brzeinski (1964). A control group of parents who received no instruction in teaching basic reading skills was compared with two experimental groups of parents who were given instruction with and without teacher assistance. A large majority of the parents who participated in the study believed the instruction they received was helpful and said they would like more help. In terms of measured reading achievement, the amount a child learned was related directly to the amount of time someone worked on beginning reading activities with him. Children who practiced thirty minutes or more per week made statistically significant gains in achievement. An additional finding of extreme interest was the fact that reading to a child produced a significant effect in achievement. Parents in the control group who read to their children produced an increase in test scores. Not surprisingly, children who regularly practiced beginning reading activities and who were also regularly read to obtained the best test scores.

The importance of warmth and positive reinforcement has been amply demonstrated in the general area of learning (McCarthy, 1954). Rheingold and Bayley (1959) more specifically described children who, with a single mothering experience, excelled control children who had six to eight mother surrogates in the areas of vocalization. This superiority continued to exist even through a nineteen-month delay or retesting period.

In examining the effect of maternal language styles on children's cognitive development, Olim (1965) states:

> "... the quality of the feedback from the mother has a powerful influence on the child's acquisition of the cognitive tools which he must begin to master if he is to become educated."

Olim, in expanding on this statement, goes on to say:

> "The child who must listen to qualification of the subject and qualification of the verb not yet articulated (as when an adverb or adverb phrase precedes the verb) is faced with the necessity of storing more information and decoding more complicated schemata than is the child whose mother typically keeps her subjects unqualified and quickly gets to the main verb of the clause."

The importance of attitudes toward school and self which are held by parents, and of a consequence by their children, is a thread which seems to run throughout the literature of learning and school achievement. These attitudes are not confined to simple like-dislike categories but include many sub-concepts such as "correct" social and learning behavior. Hess and Shipman (1966) concluded that lower class children come to regard school as an authoritarian institution rather than a place for learning as a result of their mothers' stress on "behaving" and listening to the teacher. These same children tended to be more inhibited in their initiatory behavior in a testing situation, in their quickness of response, and in their social confidence with an adult examiner. Techniques for assessing mother-child interaction, maternal language styles, and other situations involving mother evaluation or participation are reported by Hess and others in five related reports (1967).

Literature on the effect of direct parent or family involvement in school programs and school achievement is not extensive. The studies that have been reported, however, favor family involvement groups over control groups without exception. McDavid (1969), in summarizing programs reported by others (Hess and Shipman [1966]; Leler [1968]; Klaus and Gray [1968]; Weikart [1969]), notes that:

1. relationships between the mother's behavior and the child's achievement in Head Start programs have been found.
2. children whose parents are involved in planning and operating preschool education programs perform significantly better than control group children.
3. content and nature of mother-involvement does not seem to create differences in achievement but different kinds of involvement all seem superior to noninvolvement.
4. home visitor programs for work with mothers have been successful in both preschool and classroom settings.

Little, if any, of the available literature on the involvement of the learner's family deals directly with the problems of the linguistically different child. The major question would seem to be, "How can linguistically different parents help their children without receiving help themselves?" Assuming that parents are interested and willing to participate in the school's language program, they will require materials and procedures which they can use effectively and correctly with a minimum of individual assistance. Parent participation in instructional groups of other parents and teachers could be beneficial in terms of proficiency and of rationale.

An expanded home visitor program could also contribute to the development of the parent as a better teacher-model and in many cases contribute significantly toward achieving parent literacy. But real effectiveness of a home involvement program will depend upon the development of programmed procedures, activities, and materials which will enable parents and other family members to provide language instruction through example as well as explanation.

The role of inexpensive media equipment as either an integral part or as a supplement to home involvement programs should be investigated. The effectiveness of language labs in a formal school setting has been demonstrated. Could similar results be obtained through the use of inexpensive audio or audio-visual equipment in homes or community centers? The effect of such television programs as "Sesame Street" has not yet been adequately assessed.

Review of the literature makes clear that inattention to the potentials of home involvement with school language programs is widespread. Thus, parental participation in the educational development of their children represents a major area of innovation for the 1970's. The degree to which efforts toward meaningful involvement are successful will depend upon the imagination of parents, teachers, and other professionals in devising methods, procedures, materials, and equipment which can and will be used with ease and interest by family members.

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Nonstandard Language and Reading*

The child whose language habits differ markedly from the socially acceptable *patois* of the school system faces both overt and covert discrimination in education. On the inter-personal level he is an odd duckling—his kinder-peers, conservative and conformist (as all children tend to be) view *different* as *inferior*, with no exceptions given to what adults might class as prestige forms of speech; his teacher, as well meaning as she might be, may not comprehend all that he says, and worse, will have difficulty viewing nonstandard as anything except substandard. On the less personal level, the situation is potentially more harmful; the educational process and especially the reading programs are not equipped for him. The articulation and discrimination screening, the readiness tests, the reading materials, and the sacred Teacher's Handbook, with rare exceptions, are designed solely for producers of WASP-speech. For the English of the American Indian, the Mexican-American, the urban Negro, the Appalachian, and others, there is no standard guide which distinguishes normal articulation from aberrant articulation, that lists expected vocabulary or age-graded syntactic development, or that suggests how reading is to be taught where dialect-based problems exist. That such children do not fit comfortably into the existing school systems has been observed for many years, but what to do about the situation is still in doubt. The purpose of this article is to discuss approaches for teaching reading to speakers of nonstandard English, with special emphasis on the initial reading process and the language or dialect of the reading materials. Relevant literature will be discussed, but these reviews will be, by desire and necessity, selective. Where more extensive reviews exist, they will be cited in the bibliography.

Clarification of the Problem

Available Choices

The problem is, to be more specific, "What language or dialect should a child first encounter in the materials used for teaching reading: his own or some standard form?" Each of these choices carries far-reaching implications. For the nonstandard avenue, it is assumed that *all* materials—testing, readiness, reading—will be adapted to the speech habits of the child and that at some point *after* he acquires literacy in his own form of language he will learn to speak and to read the standard form. This last proviso, an accepted expectation where American Indian languages or Spanish are involved, meets occasional opposition when English dialects are involved. From the standpoint of achieving educational and economic opportunity—which are primary

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concerns of the public educational system—it is nevertheless an inescapable conclusion.

For the standard language approach, it is required, but often not stated, that the child learn to speak the standard language before he attempts to read it. (Whether or not he ever encounters reading in his native language or dialect is a matter totally divorced from considerations of initial reading and will not be discussed here.) For children who do not speak English, it is both foolish and disastrous to attempt to teach reading in standard English. The result, as verified by the Texas school system where this was the practice until recently, is a first-grade failure rate (for pupils with no pre-first grade experiences) approaching 80 percent.[2] For speakers of nonstandard English dialects, training in the standard language is also required before reading can be attacked. Nevertheless, the amount of such training is considerably less than what is required for non-English speakers.

Types of Differences

Within the bounds just established, two types of deviation from standard English should be distinguished: language differences and dialect differences. The first is a clear-cut, well understood situation in which no amount of verbalization, experimentation, or forensics can alter the basic fact that a child who does not speak English well cannot learn to read English.[3] Either the child learns to speak English before he learns to read, or he learns to read in his native language. We no longer take seriously the contention that a child (or any other illiterate) can attempt to learn simultaneously to speak and to read a language with other than debilitating results.

The second situation, that of dialect deviation, requires slightly different considerations, in that verbal communication is not totally impaired. While it is clear that *if* reading is to be taught in the child's dialect then tests for language ability must be altered, it is not so clear that changes in the reading materials are either necessary or desirable. But discussion of this must be withheld until the problem of native literacy versus standard literacy is discussed.

Native Literacy Programs

Native literacy programs are based upon the assumption that the most efficient method for teaching literacy in the national (or official) language of a country to nonspeakers of that language is to teach literacy first in the native language, then (or simultaneously with the teaching of reading in the first language) teach the national language orally, and finally teach reading in the national language. The first official codification of this view was in a UNESCO report published in 1953.[4] Since that time native literacy programs have begun in a number of countries, including Peru where it is by law part of the educational process. Furthermore, experiments which compare the native literacy approach with the straight standard language approach have been carried out in the Philippines (Orato, 1956), in Mexico (Modiano, 1968), and in San Antonio, Texas (Horn and Arnold, 1967).

The basis for native literacy programs is both theoretically and logically appealing from many standpoints. The teaching of reading to non-speakers of the national language has been uniformly dismal on this earth. By teaching reading in the native language, reading instruction can begin at an earlier age than if the standard language had to be taught first; the child's cultural heritage is honored; and a most difficult task—learning to read—is undertaken in the language that the child will always be most comfortable with—his own.

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[2] This figure is stated by Anne Stemmler, "An Experimental Approach to the Teaching of Oral Language and Reading," *Harvard Educational Review*, 36 (Winter, 1966), 42-59.

[3] I am defining reading not as the mechanical translation from writing to sound, but as translation from writing to that form of language which the reader already attaches meaning to.

[4] UNESCO, *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*. Monographs on Fundamental Education, No. 8. Paris: UNESCO, 1953.

On the other hand, native literacy programs are expensive; they require not only the development of new reading materials, but the training of special teachers and the design of testing procedures which are valid for the languages concerned. In the United States we are still struggling to develop reading and testing materials that are valid for a single language; to repeat this process for *all* languages spoken natively within the USA would require expenditures in excess of what we can realistically hope for in the coming decade (with or without Vietnam, the Moon, Mars, or the quaintly named layers that lie beneath the seas).[5] There are over one hundred Indian languages spoken in the United States. In some other countries the situation is even more trying; South America has over 500 different languages and Indonesia 200. All of this was pointed out by Bull in a review of the UNESCO document just mentioned (Bull, 1955). Before we dedicate ourselves to the native literacy approach, we would like some assurance that the payoff will be high. But at present the available data on this topic cannot be interpreted so positively. None of the major studies shows unequivocally superior results for the native literacy approach.

Philippines Experiment

In the Philippines experiment, begun in the province of Iloilo in the 1948-49 school year, one group of classes (controls) received all their instruction in the official school language (English), while a second group (the experimental group) received instruction for the first two years in the local vernacular (Hiligaynon) and then switched to English for the remainder of their schooling.

Schools were selected from representative economic levels (poorest, average, and richest) and from urban, agricultural, and fishing village areas. Teachers were equated for experience and for a variety of other factors. In the sixth and final year of the experiment, there was no statistical difference between the groups for reading ability, although the experimental classes were statistically superior in social studies. The experimental classes were slightly, but not statistically, superior in arithmetic and reading, while the controls were better in language abilities. There were, however, undeniable non-scholastic advantages for the vernacular group: interest was reported to be higher, parents became more involved with the schools, and the general relationship of the school to the community was improved over what it had been.[6]

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[5] Consider, for example, what the complexities of reading instruction would be in Hawaii for the native literacy approach in public schools. English, of course, would be one language of instruction, as would be Hawaiian pidgin—the *lingua franca* of the islands—and Hawaiian, which is still the native language for many families on the outer islands. Then there would be Japanese (there are, according to Aspinwall [1960], 78 Japanese language schools in Hawaii with over 12,000 students), Chinese (over 1000 students on the island of Oahu alone attend Chinese language schools), the Philippine languages Tagalog, Visayan, and Ilocano (12% of the population according to the 1950 census was Filipino), Korean, Portuguese, Spanish (Puerto Rican), and the various languages of the Samoans and Okinawans who have immigrated to Hawaii.

[6] The Philippines study, though carefully designed and executed, suffered from the over-enthusiasm

San Antonio Project

In the San Antonio Language-Bilingual Research Project, four treatments were studied for their effects on reading and other abilities of disadvantaged Mexican-American children:

1. "English"—children receive intensive English instruction using science as the content vehicle.
2. "Spanish"—children receive intensive Spanish language instruction using science as the content vehicle.
3. "Non-Oral"—children receive science instruction without intensive language instruction.
4. "Control"—children receive the standard school district curriculum.

After several years of this program, no increase in reading ability over that resulting from the standard teaching methods has been found.

> The findings of the research thus far support the notion that the experimental language treatments (English and Spanish) have resulted in growth in oral language skills and that the experimental science treatment (non-oral) has resulted in growth in science concepts. . . . Apparently, with the instruments used, growth in reading in the experimental groups was not increased over the control groups. (Horn and Arnold, 1967, 2-3)

It should be pointed out that *language* growth generated by language-oriented instructional programs appears with more statistical significance when the criterion is an *oral language* test rather than a *reading* test (Taylor, 1969). The most telling point that the Taylor study makes is that language programs for linguistically different learners which do *not* include intensive, structured oral language instruction will result in little or no pupil improvement toward achieving a socially unmarked style of oral language.

Further studies are underway, however, comparing bilingual instruction, English as a second language instruction, and the standard curriculum.[7]

Modiano Study

In a study reported by Modiano (1968), where reading instruction in the vernacular languages in the Highlands of Mexico was claimed to be superior to that in the national language (Spanish), neither the schools nor the teacher backgrounds were equivalent, and were probably more important factors than the teaching methods. This study took place in Cheapas, Mexico, near the Guatemalan border, and involved twenty-six schools, thirteen which taught reading in native languages, and thirteen which taught reading in Spanish only. Unfortunately, the native language schools were all National Indian Institute schools, using teachers recruited from the local population, many of whom were graduates themselves of the Institute schools. The Spanish-only schools, on the other hand, were all federal and state schools; many of the

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of its director for the native literacy approach. For example, the project reported at the end of the fourth year that the control group showed a *slight* advantage in all subjects except social studies. However, an independent evaluation made by the Director of Public Schools in the Philippines at the same time showed ***significantly superior*** achievements for the control group in all subjects, including social studies. (The fourth year was the only year, however, in which the control group was superior in reading, which may have been a temporary result of the introduction of English into the curriculum for the experimental group in the previous year.)

[7] A variety of reports are available on the San Antonio Project, including studies of language, school achievement, and oral-aural instruction. These can be found in the general bibliography under Arnold (1968), Horn and Arnold (1967), Jameson (1967), McDowell (1966), Ott (1967), Pena (1967), Stemmler (1966), and Taylor (1969).

teachers, according to Modiano, "represented the element which had exploited them (the Indian tribes) for decades. . . . Most of the remaining federal and state teachers were recent normal school graduates from other regions of the country; some came with missionary zeal, some were demoralized by the difficult living conditions they found, but none spoke the language of their students" (Modiano, 1968, 38). It would have been startling, to say the least, if the Indian Institute schools did not show the greatest success in teaching reading, regardless of the teaching procedures they employed. Nevertheless, what is surprising is that even in the Indian Institute schools, far less than 50 percent of the students were able to understand what they read in Spanish, according to teacher evaluations.

Peru

In Peru, a program for bilingual schools in various jungle tribes was initiated in 1951, including a teacher training program which teachers attended three months a year for five years (Gudschinsky, 1959). During the first three years of schooling, the 3 R's were taught in the local vernacular and Spanish taught orally. For the next three years, the 3 R's were taught in both Spanish and the local vernacular. As yet, however, there has been no published evaluation of this program.

Conclusions

In summary, one would conclude that the native literacy approach, although possessing obvious cultural advantages over the standard language approach, has yet to be proven scholastically superior. The only logical alternative—intensive oral language instruction in the national language prior to the teaching of reading—has the advantage of teaching a second language at an age when most children acquire new languages rapidly. (The older a child becomes, the more difficult it is to teach him a new language.) It also has the theoretical advantage of allowing every child to learn reading with a well-established teaching method, substantiated by both experimentation and use, and supplemented with diagnostic tests and remedial materials. That no country, with the possible exception of Austria, has approached this ideal should not be taken as proof that it is unattainable. Furthermore, if the teaching of reading is so difficult a task as the last one thousand years (or so) of experience has shown it to be, then it seems that more is to be gained by concentrating on the improvement of teaching for one language, rather than for five, ten, or one-hundred languages, especially since the ultimate goal, at least within the United States, is to teach reading in a single language.

What must be understood here is that developing an efficient reading program for a language, and especially for one that has no prior literary experience, is not simply a job of developing a few primers. Studies are needed to determine which are the most commonly used words, inflections, and syntactic forms in the language, as well as to ascertain which letters are confusable. Then, sequencing of the letters, sounds, vocabulary, and syntactic forms must be decided upon, textbooks written, reading tests developed, and teachers trained. Although some of these factors are ignored in current native literacy programs, they are all essential for effective teaching.

The drawback to the standard language approach is that where the standard language cannot be taught at the kindergarten level (or before), children will lose up to one year (on the average) of reading experience while they are acquiring the second language. This may not be a serious limitation, however, since the first two school years could be restructured to use the initial non-reading period efficiently. Perhaps the San Antonio project will provide more information on this topic. It should be pointed out, however, that where children do not have the attention span, motor coordination, or cognitive skills necessary for learning to read, no amount of language juggling in the reading texts will produce good readers until these deficits are overcome. As pointed out by Stemmler (1966), for Spanish-Americans such deficits usually accompany nonstandard speech and must be given as much attention as the speech itself.

Dialect Differences

To understand the reading problems of speakers of nonstandard dialects, we must navigate through an immense and confusing sea of research reports, eye-witness accounts, sermons, and prophesies—some objective and informative, some careless and uninteresting, and some the vacuous creakings and groanings that so often misdirect the researcher, as did the voices of the Sirens affect the ancient sailors. If quantity of verbiage and number of experiments reflected knowledge gained, there would be many authorities on this issue, but such has not been our fate. Why so many middle-class, standard speakers do not become adequate readers is still a mystery; hence, it should not be surprising that when nonstandard speech and poverty are added, even the problem itself becomes obscured. What we do know is that speakers of nonstandard English come mostly from the lowest socio-economic levels (almost by definition), that they as a group score lower than the higher socio-economic children on IQ tests, that they tend to fall behind in school work, especially in reading, and that the difference between their performance and that of the upper group widens as the child progresses (an ironic term) through school. This latter phenomenon, called the "cumulative deficit" by Deutsch (1965), has been validated quite clearly by Coleman (1966). But the picture is not totally one of low socio-economic level equals poor performance. According to Coleman's study some disadvantaged groups do not fall irretrievably into this pattern. American Indians, for example, while testing below the national average in verbal skills at the beginning of grade one, are equal to the national average in nonverbal skills at that time.

Nevertheless, a high failure rate for all speakers of nonstandard English persists, regardless of the potential which these children show in test situations, and educators are under extreme pressure to rectify the situation.

Alternatives

What, then, can be said specifically about the teaching of reading to nonstandard English speakers? Should it be done in the child's own dialect? Should it be done in standard English, or what? It is beyond questioning that the differences in the child's speech and standard English are a barrier to learning, but the size and significance of this obstacle are not known. Certainly, any method adopted for teaching reading must include training for the teacher in understanding the child's language patterns. This requires, for teaching reading in the United States, training for at least these dialects:

1. Northern urban Negro
2. Southern Mountain (Appalachian)
3. Spanish-American
4. American Indian
5. Hawaiian pidgin

6. Southern rural (Negro and white)
7. Acadian English

While data exist on all of these (some are not single dialects, but groups of dialects), few teacher training materials are available. (Published accounts of each dialect are listed in the bibliography). A substantial step in this direction, however, can be found in a recent report by Davis *et al.* (1969, 1970), *Language Resource Information for Teachers of the Culturally Disadvantaged.* (Other materials for teaching English to speakers of nonstandard dialects are listed in the bibliography).

For the reading materials themselves, the alternatives that we have to choose from appear to be:

1. Prepare all materials in the dialect of the child.
2. Continue with the standard language materials now available, but teach standard English (and standard culture) before reading instruction begins.
3. Modify the content and vocabulary of standard English materials to better reflect the environment of the child, but do not alter the spelling or syntax, other than to try to avoid those patterns which are markedly different in the nonstandard dialect.

The Dialect Approach

Approach one, which has been tediously and somewhat irrationally promoted recently, has few merits and many liabilities. On the positive side, it is argued, the child will receive "powerful ego-supports" through the credence given to his language (Baratz, 1969), but this would be true only if the child's parents and teachers also felt similarly—and there is considerable doubt that they would. According to Goodman (1965, 858), who has been involved with the teaching of reading to Negro children in the inner city of Detroit, ". . . parents and leaders in the speech community . . . would reject the use of special materials which are based on a non-prestigious dialect. They usually share the view of the general culture that their speech is not the speech of cultivation and literature." In addition to this problem, there are practical matters which make this approach difficult to implement. In integrated classrooms, presumably, each child would have the reading materials which most closely match his language and environment; but this would make group instruction nearly impossible and, worse, render the teacher's task insufferable. Then there is the job of preparing special materials for each dialect group: Southern regional white, Appalachian, Northern urban Negro, American Indian, Hawaiian pidgin, Mexican-American, Cuban derived Spanish-American, Southern Negro, etc., and not just reading materials, but also—according to Baratz (1969)—"transitional readers" that would aid the child in changing from vernacular texts to standard English texts.

If we had any evidence that the dialect approach would yield a significant advance in reading ability, we would not object to the costs and tactics involved, but most of the evidence indicates that dialect differences *per se* are not major barriers for learning to read. Studies by Peisach (1965), Weener (1969) and Eisenberg *et al.* (1968) indicate that lower SES Negro children do not find educated white speech any less intelligible than Negro speech (educated or uneducated). If these results can be accepted, then it is difficult to maintain that the vapid, emasculated language of almost all introductory readers could, by itself, pose a serious reading barrier—assuming that the child is allowed to translate what is written into his own speech, just as Eastern New Englanders, Southern whites, and all other different but standard speakers do.[8]

The Standard Language Approach

Teaching English as a second dialect as a first step for teaching reading—as opposed to teaching standard English as the *only* dialect—has been advocated for a number of years. McDavid (1964, 208), for example, wrote:

> It is likely that teaching some form of standard English as a second language will be necessary; and it might be easier to start this second language in the kindergarten or earlier, and use this as the vehicle for reading . . .

Recently projects for teaching English as a second language (dialect) were begun (among others) in Tougaloo College, Mississippi; Temple University; Claflin College, North Carolina; and Wakulla County, Florida. (A list of such projects can be found in the bibliography.) Of these projects, one of the most interesting for the present topic is the Wakulla County undertaking, now in its third year of operation.[9] Oral language materials are in use in grades 7-9 of the county's consolidated high school and in grades K through 6 of an elementary school. Teachers are trained to use audio-lingual techniques and are given inservice assistance in their proper application. In teacher training workshops and in meetings during the school year, stress is placed upon the concepts of appropriate and inappropriate speech in an attempt to eliminate the notions of "correct" and "incorrect." In the elementary school, children do not read materials in class that they have not already learned orally. Even though it is too early to evaluate this program in detail, its planning and initial success are encouraging.

The standard language approach to teaching reading is a more practical approach than the first, but still not a completely satisfactory one. If the entire reading situation is to be familiar and comfortable, then not just standard English language but some standard English culture must be taught—and this might delay the teaching of reading for a semester or a year. While it would be desirable under this approach to teach standard English in kindergarten, there are barriers to this at present; some states do not have kindergartens, others would not accept the teaching of a second dialect at this level without considerable persuasion (observe the resistance to reading readiness in some school districts). Furthermore, it has one of the drawbacks of the first approach in that it is difficult (but not impossible) to implement in mixed-dialect classrooms. However, a procedure for overcoming this difficulty is to delay the teaching of reading for all students in a mixed-dialect class until each has acquired the language patterns necessary for handling the reading materials. There is no reason to believe that a delay of a few months in the introduction of reading will seriously impede any child's natural development. Furthermore, if this procedure does improve the teaching of reading to nonstandard speakers, it is a small price to pay for such high gains.

The Common Core Approach

The third approach—developing materials in standard English which minimize dialect and cultural differences—appears from the evidence available to be a practical goal, either by itself or in combination with approach two. One effective means for minimizing cultural differences is to base the content of the reading materials upon a school subject like science (as is being done in the San Antonio project) or civics, which the children learn together as a common experience.

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[8] If the dialect approach were adopted, the content, syntax, and morphology of the readers would need to be changed, but probably not the orthography. The reasons for this are discussed by Shuy (1969, 122-24).

[9] I am indebted to Mrs. Polly Guilford Caskie for her assistance in obtaining information on this project. Mrs. Caskie, along with Mrs. Ann Burks, directed the project for its first two years. A description of the project by the two directors can be found in *Elementary English*, May, 1969.

To minimize dialect differences requires careful comparisons of standard English with the major nonstandard dialects, a task that has already been undertaken for Northern Negro speech. Of the syntactic forms which distinguish Northern Negro from white speech, Shuy (1969, 129) lists only three which would require special attention for cross-dialectal materials: negation (*doesn't have* vs. *ain't got no*), past conditional questions (*Mother asked if I ate* vs. *Mother asked did I eat*), and negative + *be* (*When I sing he isn't afraid* vs. *When I sing he don't be afraid*). Of these, only the plain negative is a problem, since the other two can be, and perhaps should be, avoided in beginning readers. It is doubtful, though, that even this construction is a reading barrier for any English speaking child, except for the most extreme of the culturally deprived, for whom almost everything in the reading situation is a problem. What is more important is allowing the child, regardless of his own dialect, to translate from standard written English to his own speech—as pointed out by Goodman and others. To achieve this requires extensive training for teachers on what is natural for the children he will be teaching and why learning a new dialect should not be confused with learning to read.

Conclusions

It is on this last point that the major research and training efforts should be exerted. At the same time, materials and techniques for teaching standard English need to be developed. Although there is not complete agreement on when these should be introduced in the educational system, there is agreement that they should be introduced at some point. As for the dialect of the reading materials themselves, the available evidence (and it is far from conclusive evidence) indicates that standard English is suitable under the following conditions:

1. Children whose dialects deviate markedly from standard English should be taught the standard brand before they are taught reading, under the explicit assumption that it is a second dialect and not a more correct dialect that is being taught.
2. Reading materials for beginning reading should, in content, vocabulary, and syntax, be as dialect free (and culture free) as possible. Given the inanity of present day materials, this should not be overly difficult to achieve.
3. Children should be allowed to translate from writing to that form of language from which they already obtain meaning; that is, dialect differences should not be considered reading errors.

If all of these provisos can be followed, there may exist a basis upon which good reading programs can be developed. If they cannot be adopted, then we should consider developing separate reading materials for each nonstandard dialect. However, under either situation, we should not expect a major improvement in reading ability from the elimination of the dialect mismatch alone. This will come only with the development of better methods for teaching reading than are available now.

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